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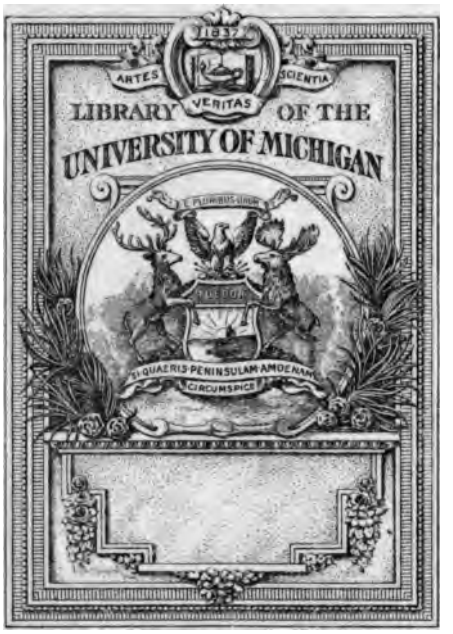
1706-1906



THE GIFT OF
Dr. S. A. Green

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THE TWO-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE BIRTH OF

Benjamin Franklin

CELEBRATION BY THE

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

AND THE

CITY OF BOSTON

IN SYMPHONY HALL, BOSTON

JANUARY 17, 1906

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT
AND THE BOSTON CITY COUNCIL

1906

Franklin Bi-Centennial Committee

Appointed by the Governor, on behalf of the Commonwealth:—

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., CHAIRMAN
LINDSAY SWIFT, SECRETARY
PATRICK J. GUERIN
C. B. TILLINGHAST, LITT. D.
EDWARD H. CLEMENT, LITT. D.

Appointed by the Mayor, on behalf of the City of Boston:—

HENRY SMITH PRITCHETT, LL.D., CHAIRMAN
RT. REV. MGR. WILLIAM BYRNE, D.D.
JAMES J. PHELAN, TREASURER
MARTIN T. JOYCE
FRANCIS H. MANNING

Acting Secretary:—

EDWARD S. SEARS

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

THE first step toward a formal recognition in his native town of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin was taken in the Massachusetts General Court on January 26, 1905, when a resolve was offered by Representative Joseph J. Leonard, of West Roxbury, for the appointment of a committee of five by the Governor to arrange for a proper celebration to be held in Boston, on January 17, 1906.

This resolve passed in due course its various stages in the Legislature and became a law by the approval of His Excellency William L. Douglas, Governor of the Commonwealth, May 1, 1905.

The appropriation which this resolve carried was made conditional on concurrent action and a like appropriation by the City Council of Boston. On October 9, 1905, Acting Mayor Daniel A. Whelton sent a message to the City Council recommending such action, which was promptly taken, in the form of an order authorizing the acting mayor to appoint five citizens of Boston to coöperate with the committee on the part of the Commonwealth in arranging for the celebration, and also making a suitable appropriation.

Under the authority thus given Governor Douglas, on September 13, 1905, appointed as the committee on the part of the Commonwealth: —

The Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, the senior ex-mayor of Boston and the librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Lindsay Swift, Esq., of the Boston Public Library; Patrick J. Guerin, Esq., secretary of the Franklin Typographical Society; C. B. Tillinghast, Esq., librarian of the State Library, and Edward H. Clement, Esq., editor of the *Boston Evening Transcript*.

October 28, 1905, Acting Mayor Whelton appointed as the committee on the part of the city of Boston: —

Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and chairman of the managers of the Franklin Fund, chairman; the Right Rev. Mgr. William Byrne, D.D., Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston; James J. Phelan, Esq., of the firm of Hornblower & Weeks, and vice-president of the Federal Trust Company; Martin T. Joyce, Esq., president of the Central Labor Union of Boston, and Francis H. Manning, Esq., of the firm of Luce & Manning, wool merchants.

The joint committee met on November 4, 1905, at the State Library in the State House, which was thereafter its regular place of meeting, and organized by the choice of the Hon. Samuel A. Green as chairman, Lindsay Swift, Esq., as secretary, and James J. Phelan, Esq., as treasurer. Since it was apparent that there would be a large amount of clerical and detail work in preparing for the celebration, the committee, on November 8, engaged Mr. Edward S. Sears as assistant secretary.

Sub-committees on the observance of the day in the public schools (Messrs. Clement and Swift); on invitations (Messrs. Green, Pritchett, and Tillinghast); auditing committee (Messrs. Guerin and Manning); on reception and platform (Messrs. Manning, Guerin, and Joyce), were appointed at subsequent meetings of the full committee.

Symphony Hall was engaged as the place for holding the public exercises on the afternoon of January 17, 1906.

The sub-committee on invitations prepared a list, which the general committee ratified, comprising the names of resident officers of the United States government, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the county of Suffolk, and the city of Boston; members of Congress from Massachusetts; the General Court of Massachusetts, and the Boston City Council; the national and state judiciary; members of the principal state, city, and metropolitan boards and commissions; representative clergymen of various denominations; historical, patriotic, and literary societies; organizations representing the allied printing trades; institutions of learning; charitable and benevolent organizations; former governors of Massachusetts; former mayors of Boston; mayors of suburban cities; and men and women prominent in various fields of activity. Invitations were sent out in the following form: —

THE JOINT COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY THE
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS
AND BY THE
CITY OF BOSTON
INVITES YOU TO ATTEND
THE EXERCISES
ON THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
AT SYMPHONY HALL, BOSTON, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1906
AT 2.30 P.M.

This invitation does not admit to the exercises, but a ticket is necessary and can be secured by application to the Committee not later than January 10, 1906.

In all, about eighteen hundred invitations were issued and about twelve hundred answers were received; and seats were assigned to all who accepted.

It was voted to invite the Franklin Typographical Society in a body, as being especially representative of the craft to which Franklin was so devoted during his long and distinguished career. The entire first balcony, seating about six hundred, was placed at the disposal of this society. The second balcony was thrown open to the public without tickets.

Mr. Clement, chairman of the sub-committee on the observance of the day in the public schools, held several conferences with Mr. George H. Conley, the superintendent of schools; and with the musical director, other officers of the school department, and several members of the Boston School Committee. The outcome of these meetings was a cordial and unanimous vote by the School Committee, authorizing a hearty coöperation in the plans of the Franklin Bi-centennial Committee and the adoption of the suggestions of the latter body; and the furnishing of an admirable chorus of nearly two hundred pupils of the public schools and a remarkably efficient orchestra of forty-one pieces from the English High School, both of which organizations contributed largely to the success and enjoyment of the exercises in Symphony Hall.

Mr. Swift, the other member of the same sub-committee, prepared a pamphlet of sixteen pages, consisting of selections from Franklin's writings, which was liberally supplied to the schools and from which, on the morning of the anniversary, extracts were read in nearly all the high and grammar schools of the city.

The sudden and much lamented death of Superintendent Conley, on December 20, 1905, caused this committee deep regret, but did not interfere with the execution of the plans already formulated by the committee, under the instructions of Mr. Conley's temporary successor, Supervisor Walter S. Parker.

The general plan and scope of the commemorative exercises occupied the attention of the committee during its first few sessions, the details of the programme being reserved for later consideration. An ode or poem and an oration or a number of short addresses seemed indispensable. As poet of the occasion, the Hon. James Jeffrey Roche, former editor of *The Pilot* and now American consul at Genoa, Italy, was the natural first choice of every member of the committee. An invitation was sent to him by the secretary on the day of the second meeting of the committee, November 8, to prepare a poem to be read at Symphony Hall, and to designate some person whom he would wish to read it. On November 20 a cable message was received from Mr. Roche, accepting the invitation, and a few days later a confirmatory letter came, suggesting Dr. Lory Bacon Fenderson, of Boston, as reader. Dr. Fenderson courteously complied with the request of Mr. Roche and the committee to read the poem.

On November 27 it was voted to invite the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, president of Clark College, Worcester, to deliver the principal oration; to invite Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, chairman of the managers of the Franklin Fund, to prepare and read a concise history of that fund; and to invite the Governor and the Mayor to make brief remarks at Symphony Hall.

It was voted that Ex-Mayor Green, chairman of the general committee should preside at these ceremonies.

The committee voted to request the Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., as the lineal successor in the pastorate of the Old South Church to the Rev. Samuel Willard, who baptized Franklin on the very day

of his birth, to open the exercises with prayer. Dr. Gordon courteously consented.

These important preliminaries settled, the rest of the programme was left to a sub-committee consisting of the chairman and Messrs. Swift, Tillinghast, Phelan, and Clement, whose work was approved by the full committee at a subsequent meeting.

When it was learned that M. Jules Jean Jusserand, the ambassador of France to the United States, would be in Boston, January 17, 1906, to deliver an address in the evening before the Sons of the American Revolution, it was voted to invite him to attend the afternoon ceremonies in Symphony Hall. His presence on this occasion was deemed especially appropriate and significant, not only on account of the traditional friendship between the United States and the French nation — a friendship which Franklin powerfully advanced during his long residence at the court of France as the first envoy from the United States to that country, but also because the ambassador himself is bound by ties of peculiar strength to this country, his wife being an American woman and a connection of the noted Boston and Groton family of Lawrence. An invitation, accordingly, was sent to M. Jusserand by the secretary and a prompt and gracious acceptance was received.

His Excellency Curtis Guild, Jr., Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and His Honor John Francis Fitzgerald, Mayor of Boston, both of whom assumed office with the new year, accepted the invitations extended to them by the chairman to be present.

The statue of Franklin in front of City Hall, as well as the site of his birthplace, No. 15 Milk Street, and the monument to his parents in the old Granary Burying-ground, were decorated by order of the mayor, and flags were displayed on the schoolhouses and other public buildings and on many private structures also.

On January 17, 1906, at 2 P.M., the hour for opening the doors of Symphony Hall to ticket-holders, a large number of people had gathered about the entrances. The seats assigned were promptly filled, the seating of the floor and the general management of the front of the hall being in charge of Mr. Manning, of the sub-committee on reception and platform, while his colleagues, Messrs. Guerin and Joyce, attended to the care and escort

of the distinguished guests to whom platform tickets had been sent. Those who were to participate in the exercises and the honorary guests assembled in the ante-room soon after 2 o'clock. At 2.30 promptly the few persons still remaining outside were admitted to the hall. Nearly every seat upon the floor and in the first balcony was occupied and a considerable number of those in the second balcony, for which no tickets were required.

Copies of Selections from Franklin's writings, prepared for the use of the pupils in the public schools, were distributed to the audience on entering, as well as the following programme of the exercises:

PROGRAMME

1. Overture to "Banditenstreiche" . . . . . *Suppe*
2. March from Suite in B Flat . . . . . *Lachner*
   ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL ORCHESTRA
3. Opening Prayer
   GEORGE ANGIER GORDON, D.D.
   Pastor of the Old South Church
   (Franklin was baptized in the Old South Meeting-House)
4. Chorus, "Holy, Holy is the Lord," from "Elijah" . . . *Mendelssohn*
   PUPILS OF THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
5. Introductory Remarks by the Chairman of the Joint Committee
   SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D.
   Ex-Mayor of Boston
6. Remarks by His Excellency
   CURTIS GUILD, JR.
   Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts
7. Remarks by His Honor
   JOHN FRANCIS FITZGERALD
   Mayor of the City of Boston
8. Chorus, "To Thee, O Country" . . . . . *Eichberg*
   PUPILS OF THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
9. Story of the Franklin Fund, "Franklin's Gift to Boston"
   HENRY SMITH PRITCHETT, LL.D.
   Chairman of the Managers of the Fund
10. Andantino for Strings . . . . . *Reinicke*
    ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL ORCHESTRA

11. Oration, "Our Debt to Franklin"
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL.D
President of Clark College

12. Pilgrims' Chorus, from "Tannhaeuser" . . . . . *Wagner*
PUPILS OF THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

13. Poem, "Benjamin Franklin"
JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE, LL.D.
American Consul at Genoa, Italy
(Read by Dr. Lory Bacon Fenderson)

14. National Hymn, "America"
PUPILS OF THE BOSTON SCHOOLS, ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL ORCHESTRA, AND THE AUDIENCE

15. Benediction
THE RT. REV. MGR. WILLIAM BYRNE
Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Boston

16. "American Republic March" . . . . . *Thiele*
ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL ORCHESTRA

The chorus, composed of about one hundred and seventy-five pupils of the Boston public schools, under the leadership of Mr. John A. O'Shea, assistant musical director of schools, was seated upon a rising platform at the rear and sides of the stage. Above the chorus and at the back of the stage center, were draped the intertwined colors of the United States and of the French Republic.

A space on the floor, directly in front of the stage, from which the first two rows of seats had been removed, was filled by the orchestra of forty-one pieces from the English High School, under the direction of Mr. James A. Beatley, a master in that school, who has trained and conducted this orchestra ever since its organization, several years ago.

During the seating of the audience the overture was played by the orchestra. At precisely 2.30 the second orchestral selection, the Lachner march, was begun, and the chairman, accompanied by the Governor, the Mayor, the Orator, the Ambassador of France, and the others whose names appear on the programme, came upon the stage and were seated in the order assigned. The presiding officer occupied the center seat, and on his right, in order, were the Governor, Ambassador Jusserand, the Hon. Daniel A. Whelton, lately acting mayor of Boston, and

Dr. Lory B. Fenderson, the reader of the poem. On his left, in order, sat Mayor Fitzgerald, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, and the Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D. In the rear row of chairs were the members of the committee, former mayors of Boston, and several other distinguished guests.

PRAYER

BY THE REV. GEORGE ANGIER GORDON

INTRODUCTION OF THE REV. DR. GORDON

BY THE CHAIRMAN, EX-MAYOR GREEN

The exercises will open with prayer by the Rev. Dr. George A. Gordon, a lineal successor to Mr. Willard, who baptized young Franklin.

THE PRAYER

INFINITE FATHER, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations. Thou art the Father of Lights from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift. We thank thee for thy unspeakable gift in Jesus Christ our Lord. We thank thee that thou didst enable him to say, "I am the light of the world. Whosoever followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life." We bless thee for his high call to us to let our light so shine before men that they seeing our good works may glorify our Father in heaven.

It has pleased thee, Infinite Father, to help men through men. For all the teachers, helpers, leaders, and deliverers for all time and among all peoples we give thee thanks; for the rich and manifold human world which thou hast brought forth through them for our habitation. They were the prophets of thy mind, the priests of thy heart, the kings by thy power. They were the mediators of thy light. We praise him that made great lights; for his mercy endureth forever. We thank thee for the famous man whose advent in this city we this day commemorate. For his typical birth in poverty, piety, and power we thank thee; for his enduring and transforming passion for self-improvement; for the significance that he beheld in the earthly career of mortal men; for the delight that he found in all human things; for his vision of the identity of individual good and social well-being; for the wise and inventive mind that covered the practical needs of his brethren; for the healing words that scattered wide in the hearts of the poor; for his usefulness in the development of honorable trade, his power in shaping the character of a great city, his influence in bringing into being a new and

prophetic nation, and in the service of this nation of free men, for his incorruptibility and dignity before kings.

We remember before thee his sincere and simple faith, his honest and persistent endeavor after personal worth, his fortunate life, his vast influence as the servant of this Republic, his serenity in old age, his timely death, his secure place in the generous and grateful affections of his countrymen.

We pray that our people may consider and continue in their lives all that was honorable and worthy in this famous career, and that whatever in it was weak or unworthy they may cover with reverent regret and shun.

Bless thou the beloved city in which he first saw the light, the great commonwealth that holds him as one of the greatest of her sons, the mighty nation among the chief of whose founders, guardians, and servants he stands. And grant, O God Most High, that the ideals of the founders of this nation of free men may continue with us and rule our life to the latest generation. Amen.

THE CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN

THE HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D.

By formal vote the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Boston have resolved, jointly, that the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin should be duly celebrated; and it is in accordance with this resolution that these exercises of to-day are now held. It is eminently fit and proper that the career of Franklin, so conspicuous in many ways through a long period of years, should be commemorated in the town of his birth. He illustrated in his own character so many sides of a distinguished life that it is not easy to select any particular setting in which he shone the most, he was so brilliant in them all. Whether considered as a printer, a patriot, or a philosopher he challenges our deepest admiration and our highest regard. The world at large puts one estimate on his achievements, but he himself put another. The world judges him by the lofty positions which he reached in the fields of science and statecraft, but he himself placed the printer's art before all his other acquirements. During a long life he never forgot that he was a printer first and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France afterward, and still later president of the State of Pennsylvania. In his last will and testament, drawn up less than two years before his death, he sets forth these distinctive titles in the order here given.

Before Franklin left his native town to dwell in a distant city he had learned, fortunately, to set type; and a knowledge of this craft gave the friendless boy a self-reliance, which proved later to be of great practical help and laid the foundation of his future fame. In this calling he acquired those habits of reading and study and that aptness and readi-

ness of expression which throughout life, in his various positions of honor and usefulness, served him in such good stead.

During his lifetime Franklin was — with possibly a single exception — the most conspicuous character in American history; though many of his admirers do not admit even this exception. During the war of the Revolution he was a venerable man, the senior of Washington by more than twenty-five years; and Washington himself, together with the other leaders of that eventful period looked up to him for counsel. In such times it is young men for action but old men for advice; and Franklin was always a wise counsellor. The recollection of his own narrow circumstances in early life prompted him to help others similarly placed; and the famous line of Terence, which declares that nothing relating to mankind was foreign to his sympathies, applied to him as truthfully as to any other man of his century. In brief, it is enough to say that on all occasions and at all times he kept in close touch with the popular heart.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

THE CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION OF GOVERNOR GUILD

We are honored on this occasion by the presence of His Excellency the Governor, and I would call on him as the representative of the Commonwealth to affix his seal of approval to these exercises. I now present to you the Honorable Curtis Guild, Jr.

REMARKS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, CURTIS GUILD, JR.,

GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

I bring you the greetings of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

This day is dedicated to memories of a son of Massachusetts who became a founder of a nation. The victories of war were another's, but his at least were the conquests of diplomacy, of industry, and of peace. The rifle shot of a son of Massachusetts at Lexington aroused America to revolution; the pen of a son of Massachusetts at Paris marked its fortunate close.

Washington's services alone during the Revolution can claim to equal those of this typical American, the child of the tallow chandler, who came into the swarming little house on Milk Street two centuries ago. Certainly if in Massachusetts any man has deserved better perpetuation of his memory than he has received in his native commonwealth it is Washington's great coadjutor, the first American philosopher, the first of American inventors, the first American electrician, almost the first American man of letters, certainly the first great American diplomat, whose skill threw the arms of friendly France into the scale and swung the balance of our fortunes from despair to victory.

By a strange coincidence this anniversary finds at the head alike of commonwealth and city members of Benjamin Franklin's own profession. No time is more fitting, therefore, for recalling to that profession that if nation, commonwealth, and city have so honored the press, our profession should so conduct itself as to be worthy of city, of commonwealth, and of nation. Public opinion has in some respects at least advanced in the last two hundred years. In 1737, when Franklin became deputy postmaster of Philadelphia, a postmaster, if a newspaper

publisher, had it in his power to break down, and usually did break down, an opposition newspaper by keeping it out of the mails. Franklin put an end to this pernicious practice, and made the postriders carry his rival's paper as well as his own. What was a novel action in Franklin's youth for fair play and sound citizenship is so much a matter of course that we forget it was ever novel.

Franklin's newspaper and Franklin himself were not perhaps altogether free from certain failings of their day, but we deserve to remember him not for any personal failings by which he hurt himself, but for the public devotion by which he helped his country. He set a noble example, at least, for his successors to follow, in the acceptance of the theory that the journalist's duty is not merely to himself, that he has no right to consider his own advancement alone, nor his own bank account alone; that freedom to expose impartially all wrong and all abuse, freedom to express all truth and all honest opinion, is a privilege that carries with it a duty to repress as far as in us lies the false, the foul, the disgusting, the degrading.

Professor Bryce tells us that the United States is a government of public opinion, and Adolphe Thiers says somewhere, in confirmation of the same idea, that public opinion is the judge behind the judge. The newspaper is the opinion underlying public opinion, and it is the business of the press to see to it that the manner in which the news is presented is such as to make that opinion sound and clean. I know the hackneyed excuse of the sensationalist and perverter of truth is that he is what the public makes him, and that his business is to make money by selling the public what it wants. We have no right to look at the profession in such a light. It is the same coward's cry by which the quack and the charlatan justifies his abuse of the noble profession of medicine.

I think it may be fairly said that on the whole the Massachusetts press of to-day will compare favorably in character, not only with the press of Franklin's day, but with the press of other commonwealths. Certainly no such slanderous articles in regard to Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, as were printed in the Boston *News-Letter* a century ago, were printed in regard to Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, abusive as some

of his Massachusetts critics were. Nor have the foul editorial articles of Franklin's own unhappy nephew, Bache, in regard to George Washington, ever been quite duplicated in regard to any President by any modern writer.

Honorable traditions are only of value, however, if those who succeed to them keep them honorable. The Golden Age of Franklin's own profession may dawn when publishers never print what they would be ashamed to have written and when journalists write nothing they are ashamed to sign.

The great satirist of Chinon is, I believe, responsible for the rugged French proverb of the sixteenth century, "Science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'âme." If knowledge without conscience is but the destruction of the soul, the life of the kindly satirist of Philadelphia is the best proof that even in a single citizen knowledge, buttressed by conscience, may be the salvation of the nation. A farmer, a philosopher, a scientist, a laborer, a soldier, a diplomat, a financier, a poet, Franklin lived a strangely varied life and perhaps served the world in more directions than any other man in history. He has left many monuments in legislation, in science, in treaties, and in literature, but none more noble than one of his own "Rules of Conduct": "Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly, and if you speak speak accordingly."

He saw in life his own land fighting with England against France, his own land fighting with France against England. Surely the work of this great friend of humanity has achieved an apotheosis when American troops tread in peace the streets of London and Paris, when our President invites the fleets of both to a rendezvous at Jamestown.

France and England have struck hands in the *entente cordiale*, America has learned to know England at Manila Bay, not as an enemy, but as a friend. France and America stand on Franklin's birthday, not as monarchy and democracy, but as sister republics united in aims, in history, in aspirations. Through her ambassador our sister, our ancient ally, stands beside us here to-day, and the two great republics that bear alike the red, the white, and the blue upon their

shields, in this day that commemorates the man whom both have honored, salute not themselves alone, but each other, whether the song we sing be:

"The flag of our country forever,
Three cheers for the red, white, and blue,"

or,

"Allons, enfants de la Patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé."

IMPROMPTU ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND

ENTHUSIASTIC GREETING TO THE AMBASSADOR

As the Governor resumed his seat the orchestra began to play the French national anthem, "La Marseillaise," and the audience rose to its feet applauding and cheering enthusiastically. M. Jusserand, evidently moved by the demonstration, addressed the chairman, requesting the privilege of responding to this tribute of friendship and welcome.

The Chairman thereupon said: —

I have the honor to introduce M. Jules Jean Jusserand, Ambassador of France to the United States, who wishes to express his thanks for the tribute paid to his country by the Governor and for its warm reception by the audience.

REMARKS OF M. JUSSERAND

Your Excellency, Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: — It was impossible for me not to ask for a few moments in which to express my gratitude for the words of His Excellency the Governor and for his beautiful tribute to your sister republic across the water, France, your friend.

Of the many events in Franklin's wonderful career one appeals to me more than all the others, that is the alliance signed by him in 1778 the only alliance ever signed by America, — her alliance with France.

When that document was sent to the Continental Congress, it was warmly received and unanimously approved, and the wish was expressed by the assembly that the friendship between the two states might be perpetual. That wish has been fulfilled and I am sure that the friendship wished for by the early Congress will be perpetual.

To-day is a notable day in France. To-day we are electing — in fact, we have elected at the moment I speak — a new President for a term of seven years. Knowing my feelings and the feelings of my country for yours, I know also that you reciprocate them, and that you join with me in wishing the new President seven years of happy and prosperous administration, and doubt not that the friendship of the two nations founded during the days of Franklin will be continued day by day for all time.

ADDRESS BY THE MAYOR

THE CHAIRMAN INTRODUCES MAYOR FITZGERALD

Great applause followed the felicitous remarks of Ambassador Jusserand, which were as much a surprise to the chairman as to any one in the audience, since it had been understood that M. Jusserand, owing to his engagement to speak at another gathering in the evening, was not to be called upon for any address at Symphony Hall. The warmth and sincerity of his words and manner and the spontaneous impulse which prompted their delivery made the episode most gratifying and impressive to all present. When the applause it created had subsided, the Chairman said: —

We are also favored by the presence of His Honor, the Mayor, John F. Fitzgerald, who, like the Governor, is the publisher of a newspaper; and I would ask him to tell wherein the city is bigger and better than it was when Franklin was printing *The New England Courant* in what is now Court Street.

Mayor Fitzgerald heartily appreciated the suggestion contained in the closing portion of Ambassador Jusserand's remarks and gave it a practical turn before beginning the brief address prepared by him for the occasion. He said: —

REMARKS OF HIS HONOR, JOHN FRANCIS FITZGERALD

It will be my pleasure upon my return to City Hall to send a cable to the new President of the French Republic, expressing the hearty good wishes of the six hundred thousand citizens of Boston for an administration of happiness, prosperity, and progress.

My honored predecessor in his happy introduction has asked me to explain wherein Boston is bigger and better to-day than she was in the time of Franklin. I do not think those of you who have eyes and ears will entertain any doubt as to her tangible growth. The Boston that Franklin knew was planted on three low hills which gave its first name to the peninsula. Dorchester and South Boston were dotted with farms; Cambridge and Charlestown were aspiring villages; a thin strip of land united the town proper with Roxbury; and along this neck, as it was called, three stages a week ran out of the capital of New England, which counted in all some twelve thousand souls. Contrast this picture with the interminable stretch of streets and houses, the glittering panorama visible from Great Blue Hill in early winter evenings, the trains running north, south, and west almost every minute of the day, the nightly exodus to the suburbs and the swinging back and forth all day long of the million persons, more or less, who now ply their occupations within our boundaries.

There is no doubt Boston is bigger and busier. I believe, also, that she is better, though not so good as she might be and will be, if we all give a little of our strength and enthusiasm towards making her so. Her laws are now framed by free citizens and not by a foreign parliament, owing allegiance to an imbecile king. Her children are well taught, her

poor relieved, her sick healed. The blind, the dumb, the crippled, the aged, the insane are not without friends and providers among us. Our works of positive achievement — our parks, libraries, churches, museums, banks, theaters, shops, and factories — compare favorably with those of any city of similar age and size. The Boston of to-day, encircling its beautiful harbor and reaching back among the hills and rivers of the interior, is a monument of human achievement, a great symbol erected by ten generations of builders to bear witness to their labors and the spirit that ruled them. It is better than the struggling townlet of two hundred years ago, as fulfillment is better than promise and the ripe fruit and flower superior to the seed.

It is fitting that Boston should commemorate the birth of Franklin because Boston was the scene of that memorable event. That he did not forget his birthplace and the home of his boyhood is evident from his liberal bequest of funds for the benefit of his former townsmen — one of them long devoted to the award of prize medals in our public schools, the other soon to be consecrated to some great measure of social improvement. This great benefactor of our city and of his race was one of seventeen children — the son of a poor soap-boiler and himself by occupation a printer. He made the most of his opportunities — perhaps I ought to say he made his opportunities — and became rich, wise, powerful and famous. But riches, wisdom, and power were merely instruments which he used to benefit his fellowman. He beheld the pomp of courts, the glories and frivolities of London and Versailles, with unmoved composure, and wore the homespun garments woven by his wife into the presence of ministers and kings. He was our first great Democrat — his whole biography a perfect illustration of the simple life.

We do not think of Franklin as a patriot or statesman mainly, although he bore a part second to none but Washington in the creation of our Union. He was delegate to the Continental Congress, Minister to Paris throughout the war of Independence, and a member of the convention which framed the Constitution. But he did not owe his reputation to these activities, or to any part which he took in public life or the wars of the young colonies. In the group of brilliant soldiers and statesmen whom the need of that great hour wakened to high achievements,

he stands a figure apart, calm, reflective, and mature. He belonged, in fact, to an earlier generation. In the year of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Franklin was a venerable sage of seventy. Washington himself was but forty-four, Jefferson thirty-three, and Hamilton nineteen. The others had their reputations to make; Franklin was already successful in commerce, a household word in literature, renowned throughout two continents in science and invention. And, although he added to the luster of his fame by his conduct in the trying period that followed, still it is not as a diplomat that he is remembered to-day. We think of him in his more characteristic pursuits, as the inventor of the lightning-rod, the founder of a public library, the organizer of a fire department, the industrious experimenter in all directions that promised practical advantage to his fellowman.

If Franklin were alive to-day, it is easy to believe that, with all the changes in our civilization, he would yet devote himself to the same ends and in the same spirit. I doubt if he would strive for that sort of success which puts some men of our day on pinnacles elevated to such dizzy heights that they seem separate from the rest of humankind. Franklin's nature was social, his ambition involved service. In these days of feverish and reckless speculation, the youth of our city could not have a better model than this printer's apprentice who by frugality and industry rose out of want and made himself the third figure in our national history, surpassing even Washington and Lincoln as a philosopher and a practical humanitarian, and falling behind them mainly in the fact that he never knew the responsibilities of leadership before the whole nation. Of them also it might have been written, that they took away the scepter from tyrants; but of Franklin alone it can be said that he drew down the lightning from heaven. He cannot be called, like Washington, first in war or first in the hearts of his countrymen; but he may dispute even with the father of his country himself the honor of being the first American in the arts of peace.

CABLE MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

The Mayor's quick response to Ambassador Jusserand's suggestion bespeaking the good wishes of the audience for the newly elected President of the French Republic was as spontaneously and heartily seconded by the Governor, who, when the singing by the chorus of Eichberg's hymn, "To thee, O Country," was ended stepped again to the front of the stage. He said it had been mutually agreed to broaden the scope of the cable message to the President of France so that it should reflect the sentiment, not only of the city of Boston, but of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as well. He then read the following message, which was duly signed and soon after was sent by cable to Paris: —

BOSTON, *January* 17, 1906.

PRESIDENT FALLIÈRES, *Paris:*

Massachusetts and Boston, celebrating in Franklin's birthplace the two hundredth anniversary of his birth, unite in congratulation and wishes for happy fortune to the chosen chief of America's first friend among the nations, led to our aid by Benjamin Franklin. *Vive la République Française!*

CURTIS GUILD, JR.,
Governor of Massachusetts.
JOHN F. FITZGERALD,
Mayor of Boston.

THE HISTORY OF THE FRANKLIN FUND

BY DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT

THE CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION OF DR. PRITCHETT

Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will now tell the story of the Franklin Fund.

THE STORY OF THE FRANKLIN FUND

BY HENRY S. PRITCHETT, LL.D., CHAIRMAN OF THE MANAGERS OF THE FUND

In the fascinating story of the life of Benjamin Franklin there is nothing more remarkable than the diversity of channels into which his energy and his thought were directed, and perhaps in no way was this more clearly shown than in the number of institutions which he helped to bring into existence for the service of humanity. Some of these institutions, like the University of Pennsylvania, are to-day strong and influential factors in the life of the country which Franklin loved, and in all of those with which he had to do, the underlying motive, whether they were educational, scientific, or charitable, was a broad human interest. Franklin was profoundly interested in men.

In his will he provided in the following words a foundation which is now after more than a hundred years to blossom into another institution for the service of men. "I devote," said he, "one thousand pounds to the Town of Boston. The said sum of one thousand Pounds Sterling, if accepted by the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the Select Men, united with the Ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in that town; who are to let out the same upon Interest at five per cent per Annum to such young married artificers, under the Age of twenty-five years, as have served an Apprenticeship in the said Town; and faithfully fulfilled the Duties required in their Indentures, so as to obtain a good moral Character from at least two respectable Citizens, who are willing to become their Sureties in a Bond with the Applicants for the Repayment of the Monies so lent them with Interest according to the Terms herein – (B. Franklin) after prescribed. All which Bonds are to be taken for

dom to those who were to administer his gift. No man is wise enough to fix for one hundred years of the future the conditions upon which a great foundation ought to be administered.

Since the fund at the end of one hundred years had fallen short of Franklin's anticipation, the managers thought his wishes would best be met by dividing the actual capital accumulated July 1, 1893, into two parts, bearing to each other some such ratio as that which Franklin had indicated. Accordingly in December of 1893, the managers decided to set aside $322,490 to be turned over to the city of Boston to be expended in "Public works which may be judged of most general utility to the Inhabitants," and to set aside $102,455 to be reinvested for another hundred years. This last sum, therefore, passes out of sight for the present, and its use will be the concern of those who are to govern the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the city of Boston in the year 1993.

The story of the $322,000 set aside in 1893 is one full of interest, but too long to be told here. It may be said briefly that one or another project was proposed for its use: the purchase of a park; the erection of public baths; the building of a museum; the creation of a school for industrial and social education. In these discussions ten years passed away, and meantime, in 1903, by the action of the Supreme Court, obtained by the energy of Patrick A. Collins, the Board of Aldermen ceased to be managers of the fund, and its custody was transferred to a board appointed by the court, consisting of the ministers of three churches whom Franklin designated, and nineteen other citizens of Boston, of whom the mayor of the city is one. This decision was rendered in November, 1903, and the board of managers so created have since had the custody of the fund, which by the year 1904 had grown to $408,000.

Promptly on their appointment this new board of managers took up the question of the best disposition of Franklin's gift. In the public hearings which were held, it became evident that some form of educational endeavor which might serve the practical needs of working men and women met more generally than any other form of public work the popular ideal for the use of Franklin's money. The difficulty in such a plan was to have means of support for such an institution once established.

At this point in their deliberations the trustees received from Mr. Andrew Carnegie a most generous and public-spirited offer. Understanding that the managers had in mind some sort of industrial education Mr. Carnegie proposed to convey to the city of Boston a sum of money equal in amount to the accumulations of Franklin's gift, provided the institution so established were planned along lines similar to the Cooper Union, and provided the city of Boston contributed a site. This gift was a generous and noble recognition of Franklin and his work, and it was accepted by the managers of the fund and by the city of Boston in the same spirit in which it was offered. The sum which therefore stands to-day to the credit of the Franklin fund has grown to more than $900,000, and out of it is to be established in the immediate future the Franklin Union, an institution devoted to the education and to the social betterment and enjoyment of those who work. Here the man and the woman of Boston may find the opportunity, even in the pressure which goes with the earning of a livelihood, for improvement both in their calling and in their social life. Here is to be an institution conducted on simple and democratic lines for the upbuilding of the citizenship of Boston, and above all to contribute to the helping of the man and of the woman who have the ambition and the energy to help themselves. No nobler realization of Franklin's desire could be found than this, and of all the institutions which he helped to found — colleges, libraries, scientific societies — there is none which is likely to do a nobler service to men than the Franklin Union of the city of Boston.

THE ORATION

BY THE HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT

THE ORATOR INTRODUCED BY THE CHAIRMAN

After an instrumental interlude, Reinicke's Andantino for strings, by the orchestra, the chairman introduced the orator of the day, the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in the following words: —

The Honorable Carroll D. Wright, President of Clark College at Worcester, will render an itemized account of "Our Debt to Franklin"; and I present him as the orator of the day.

OUR DEBT TO FRANKLIN

ORATION BY THE HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT

There has been but one Benjamin Franklin, as there has been but one George Washington. These two names are, and ever will be, inseparably linked together in the affection and reverence of Americans, for they have been the two men of greatest renown of all America has yet produced. This can be said without disparagement of any of the great Revolutionary patriots, whose names we are glad to honor, and who placed this nation under lasting obligation. Or of those great men who, since the Revolution, have contributed so much to the development, expansion, and solidity of our republic.

Yet Franklin and Washington cannot be compared. Their temperaments, their characteristics, and their services were not of the same order. The great field general and magnificent statesman is entitled *par excellence* to the proud title of "Father of his Country," but without the aid and the services of Franklin in entirely different fields, this grand title could not have been won.

Shall we give Washington the first rank, or shall we couple Franklin with him on an equality? Each was the complement of the other; but for action, for being in the very position for which his great abilities and his unquestionable patriotism fitted him, Washington must ever stand first, and Franklin on a pedestal only a little below that of his great compeer.

Many men of judgment have given him a place equal to that of Washington, and the estimates of his contemporaries and those coming after him, who have had the best opportunities for studying and analyzing his services, have placed him so near Washington that it is difficult, con-

sidering their varied characteristics, to name a rank exactly just in all respects. But we need not exercise our minds in this respect, for Franklin stands so high, occupies now the public mind in so great a measure, that Washington's fame is in no wise diminished by giving Franklin a place by his side.

John Adams, who cannot be said to have been carried away by Franklin's peculiar nature and temperament, and who could not regard his associate in the great business he accomplished with entire equanimity, did not hesitate to write of him while in France: "Franklin's reputation was more universal than that of Leibnitz or Newton, Frederick or Voltaire, and his character more beloved and esteemed than any or all of them. His name was familiar to government and people, to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebeians, to such a degree that there was scarcely a peasant or a citizen, a valet de chambre, coachman or footman, a lady's chambermaid or a scullion in a kitchen who was not familiar with it, and who did not consider him a friend to humankind. When they spoke of him they seemed to think he was to restore the golden age." And the great Chatham spoke of him as "One of whom all Europe ranks with our Boyles and Newtons, as an honor not to the English nation only, but to human nature." And Jefferson has borne the warmest testimony to Franklin's greatness, for he said in 1791: "I can only therefore testify in general that there appeared to me more respect and veneration attached to the character of Dr. Franklin in France than to that of any other person in the same country, foreign or native. I had opportunities of knowing particularly how far these sentiments were felt by the foreign ambassadors and ministers at the court of Versailles. . . . I found the ministers of France equally impressed with the talents and integrity of Dr. Franklin. The Count de Vergennes particularly gave me repeated and unequivocal demonstrations of his entire confidence in him." And thus Jefferson, it seems to me, set at rest all queries as to the relations between Franklin and the Count de Vergennes.

And at a later period, 1818, Jefferson again testified that mutual confidence was all which subsisted between Dr. Franklin and the government of France.

Kant called him the Prometheus of modern times; and Mirabeau in the National Assembly, June 11, 1791, in announcing Franklin's death, spoke of him as "the genius that freed America and poured a flood of light over Europe. . . . The sage whom two worlds claim as their own, the man for whom the history of science and the history of empires contend with each other, held, without doubt, a high rank in the human race."

And during the generation after Franklin's death, Lord Jeffrey spoke of him as "the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. . . . No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding, or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority."

Sir James Mackintosh said, "The cause of the Americans in France owed part of its success to the peculiar character, as well as extraordinary talents of their agent at Paris, Benjamin Franklin."

He was eulogized by John Foster and others, and Lord Brougham, in 1839, characterized him as "one of the most remarkable men of our times, as a politician, or of any age, as a philosopher . . . and one who stands alone in combining together these two characters, the greatest that man can sustain" . . . and "that having borne the first part in enlarging science, by one of the greatest discoveries ever made, he bore the second part in founding one of the greatest empires in the world."

The words of Dr. Jared Sparks and of George Bancroft are familiar to all.

Coming nearer to our time we find the late Robert C. Winthrop comparing him to Archimedes, and Horace Greeley said: "I think I inadequately appreciate the greatness of Washington; yet I must place Franklin above him as the consummate type and flowering of human nature under the skies of colonial America. I realize," said Mr. Greeley, "that there are elements of dignity, of grandeur, in the character of Washington, for which that of Franklin affords no parallel," but when we contemplate the immense variety and versatility of Franklin's services to his country and to mankind, he could not place Franklin second to any other American. And he says that Franklin could not have done the work of Washington — no other man could — but that he did many admirable things which Washington had too sound a judgment even to attempt.

He has been compared with Plutarch, and recent writers and analysts of Franklin's character and services have been no less generous in their encomiums.

Joseph H. Choate, late ambassador to England, in an address at Birmingham, England, in October, 1903, did not hesitate to state that "in view of Franklin's fifteen years' services in England and ten in France, of the immense obstacles and difficulties which he had to overcome, of the art and wisdom which he displayed, and the incalculable value to the countries of the treaties which he negotiated, Franklin stands by far as the greatest of American diplomatists."

And the late John Hay, the greatest of modern diplomatists, he who set the pace for the world in a diplomacy involving straightforwardness and integrity instead of duplicity, said that Franklin was an "envoy from the new world to the old, addressing to its half-awakened heart and conscience the soul-stirring invitation to be free," and that "no fitter choice was ever made by any nation in any age," that "Franklin was by universal consent the greatest natural philosopher of his time; that the great men of France, Morellet, Buffon, Turgot, d'Alembert, Necker, Mirabeau, princes all by intellect and many of them by birth, were proud of the friendship of Franklin," and the latest editor of Franklin's life and writings crowns these estimates as the result of his patient and industrious studies.

The historian Lacretelle said that "his virtues and renown negotiated for him, and before the second year of his mission had expired no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and armies to the countrymen of Franklin;" and the German Schlosser said: "Franklin's appearance in the Paris salons, even before he began to negotiate, was an event of great importance to the whole of Europe."

So I might take up the whole of the time allotted to me in quoting the statements of Sidney Smith, Sir Humphrey Davy, and many, many more, all to the same intent, the distinction of Franklin as the greatest man of his age.

But these are sufficient, and more than sufficient to show that Franklin was unique in character, and that his services were of the profoundest nature and of inestimable value.

These estimates come to us with only one distracting note, a note born of misunderstanding, of difference in temperament and attitude, but with all integrity and sincerity.

Even Jay, who, it has been attempted to show, was in antagonism at times to Franklin's views, was his great friend, and Franklin made him executor of his will. Jay's testimony could be added to all the others, leaving that single distractive note out of harmony with the opinions of others, as coming down to us and giving us a clearer view of Franklin's position and his greatness.

If John Adams and Franklin did not agree, so far as my own studies go, they had good reasons for disagreement, but we have seen what John Adams thought of Franklin, and we have no occasion now, in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of his birth to allow any of these distractions to influence us, for we might take from the encomiums all that belongs to rhetoric and to panegyric and yet leave Franklin on the high pedestal where he has stood for so many years.

He might have lived out any one of the lines of service he chose, or into which he was forced by circumstances, and in that line alone he would have achieved greatness and renown.

It is now one hundred and sixteen years since he died. One hundred and sixteen years is a long period of time in a nation but one hundred and thirty years of age, and a nation which he helped to found. It is wonderful that after this lapse of years there is no more familiar character in our American history than that of Franklin; familiar to every child and every adult, and more familiar in the details of his life, than are the details of the life of the great Washington. This is because of his peculiar natural traits and they will ever remain familiar.

With these we may not deal on this occasion, but when we carefully consider what he did, how he grew to his actions, what his services were, we may, omitting all biography, realize the obligations under which he placed us.

Consider the great debt, the manifold debt we owe him, and we must conclude that we can pay only a very small part of the interest which has accrued, and that not in coin or in kind, but only in appreciation

of the real results of his great work which we, as citizens of the great republic, enjoy.

He was a great American, he was a great mechanic and philosopher, a great statesman and a great diplomatist; we to-day must look upon him as the great Bostonian. Our debt, therefore, is not only the debt which Boston owes him, but the debt which the commonwealth and the nation owe him, and we as individual communities of the great nation can only contribute our mite towards reducing in some slight degree the interest on that great mortgage which Franklin placed upon us all.

Our first debt to Franklin is to him as a printer and a mechanic. He lived as a printer here in Boston. He was ever proud of this distinction, and in his description of himself in papers, and especially in his will, the first title he gave himself was that of printer, and after that the other titles that belonged to him. This pride in his trade lasted through his life, whether here in Boston, in Philadelphia, or in London, or in after years as a publisher, he was always a printer. That he was a good printer we all know. He understood the art of his business, and he has left no better monument than that of a typesetter.

His craft of to-day know well the work of Franklin, and they gather new inspiration when they read of his endeavors to place his trade in the front ranks. Ever an intelligent class in every community, Franklin was the printer of printers, and out of that work he acquired the habits of writing, and to such an extent that, in the estimation of writers, he set the pace for a good sound English style.

He has been called our Premier Man of Letters, and his latest biographer, Dr. Smyth, does not hesitate to refer to him as showing in some of his writings that he was conscious not alone of the standards that the best English authors of the Mother Country set before the colonist, but of the judicious use that the colonist, through the limited culture of his fellow countrymen, was bound to make of his example; that he had a rational conception of literature and won from his experiences the mastery of a powerful and persuasive style.

His significance appears when we remember that he was the first American to transcend provincial boundaries and limitations, and the first author and scientist to achieve wide and permanent reputation in Europe.

This was the direct outcome of his industry as a printer. With access to but few books, borrowed, it may be, sometimes obtained in a surreptitious way, he devoured their contents and patterned his style, even as a youth, upon the very best examples of English literature. Out of his obscure beginnings he produced a writer whose influence, even before he became a public man, was felt in the colonies. A volume might be written on our debt to Franklin in this respect alone, and had he never entered upon any other field than that of a writer, of a pamphleteer, of an able controversialist on some of the most important subjects that attracted the attention of the colonists, Franklin would have made a name for himself envied of all men.

Let the young men of our time study the life of Franklin as a printer, and their lives will be enriched, their services enhanced, and their happiness doubled.

He showed the result of his studies by founding the American Philosophical Society. The Academy, which became the basis of the University of Pennsylvania, the Circulating Library, and many other institutions in Philadelphia which brought great benefit to its citizens. He taught them the necessity of clean and well-lighted streets, the usefulness of a fire department, and many other things which go to make up a beneficent municipality.

Our next debt to him is as a scientist. Truly the Archimedes of modern times, he was an inventor and more than an inventor. He was a philosopher in the highest realms of science. When I study Franklin I marvel at the range of his learning and of his discoveries. Most scientific students and discoverers limit their work, but Franklin knew no limits.

The list of his inventions — some of importance — satisfies the student of his character that as a scientist no man at his time was even his compeer. His mind was exceedingly fertile, and he investigated a range of subjects that would stagger the modern student of physics. The use of oil in protecting ships in storms, electricity, seismology, geology, meteorology, physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, hydrography, horology, aeronautics, navigation, agriculture, ethnology, paleontology, medicine, hygiene, and pedagogy. What a range of thought and investi-

gation these subjects, which attracted the attention of Franklin, suggest to the mind.

Of course his work on electricity stands out as preëminently the most valuable of all his researches. He made the great discovery that lightning and electricity were the same in force and in character, and he carried his discoveries so far that he was recognized throughout the civilized world as the first scientist of his age. His discoveries admitted him to the most distinguished scientific bodies in Europe.

But his investigations carried him into other fields than those of natural philosophy. He was more of a physician than many of the learned men who practiced medicine in his day. He projected his studies through his whole long active life. He discussed, and with learning and reason, some of the intricate problems of medicine. His ability in this direction was recognized by the physicians. Some of his writings upon disease, while curious, are exceedingly interesting and cannot fail to command respect. He was elected a member of the Royal Medical Society of Paris. He promoted the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was appointed an honorary member of the Medical Society of London, and the French king appointed him a member of a commission to investigate the theories of Mesmer. There were four distinguished physicians upon this commission — Majault, Sallin, D'Arcet, and Guillotin, while the members of the Academy of Sciences appointed to confer with them were our own Franklin, LeRoy, Bailly, De Bory, and Lavesier. This commission sat from March 12 to August 11, 1784, when Franklin drew up the report of the commission, and it was to his sagacity and ingenuity that Mesmer met his exposure and his discomfiture. The report has been designated by Dr. Gilles de la Tourette, of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris, as "a scientific work of the first order which is worthy of being consulted to-day by all those who are interested in hypnotism and the diseases of the nervous system."

In many other directions relating to therapeutics Franklin's investigations brought him to the front rank as a physician. But he could not content himself with medicine alone. I imagine that in this field of inquiry we are not as familiar as with other fields in which he delved.

We think of those inventions, mostly for domestic use, that he gave

to the world, for, like the true physician, he sought no patent and obtained no compensation for his inventions, but gave them freely for the benefit of mankind.

And when we think of him as the first American economist we probably find ourselves somewhat startled, for he has not been considered specifically in this branch of human knowledge, and yet this study became familiar to him, even before its problems were considered by Europeans. He was entirely familiar with the theories of the physiocrats. From him Adam Smith learned much that enabled him to write his great work on "The Wealth of Nations." Franklin not only anticipated him in many ways, but Turgot was obliged to borrow from him an explanation of the nature of interest. Franklin was the intimate friend of the leading physiocrats, such men as Dupont, De Nemours, Dubourg, Mirabeau, Turgot, Morellet, and even of the great Quesnay. Malthus had to follow him in his disquisitions on the theory of population, and Smith relates that Burke, Dr. Price, and Lord Kames borrowed from Franklin, while David Hume, with keen interest, was obliged to follow his thought, and it is not too much to say that Cobden enriched his mind from the works of Franklin.

When we consider the papers of Dr. Franklin upon economic subjects we conclude that he was among the very first economists of his age. He wrote on observations concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries; on American Paper Money; on the Wealth of Nations; on the Augmentation of Wages which will be occasioned in Europe by the American Revolution; on the Interest and Policy of the United States; the Necessity of a Paper Currency, and on many other subjects of a less formal nature. He was a free trader, and wrote a very witty paper on the "Wail of a Protected Manufacturer." This paper was reproduced during a recent fiscal controversy in England, and very widely circulated. His illustrations were terse and emphatic.

Franklin was familiar with civil government and the theories of such government. He wrote many political essays, which commanded attention and had their influence wherever they were read. Wherever Franklin's name appeared on the title page of a pamphlet, or it was supposed that his name ought to have been there, the pamphlets were

read with interest and with profit. So, again, there is another great body of students and a great body of the public owing a debt to Franklin that can never be paid. The political economists, the political scientists, the sociologists of our time can read with profit and with renewed obligation the writings of Franklin.

Had Franklin chosen to have pursued the arduous and sacrificial life of a physician, or the delightful studies of the political economist and the political scientist, he could have made a reputation in either which would have established his enduring fame.

Passing to fields in which his activities are more familiar to us, we find him performing the duties of a soldier, ranking for a brief time as a colonel, and here he gained the experience which enabled him in later years to appreciate the arduous and patience-wearing duties of Washington. In his early manhood he knew Washington, for he took part in that disastrous military expedition resulting in Braddock's defeat, not as an active participant in the engagement, but as a quarter-master in collecting stores, transportation, etc. Not a particularly attractive duty to Franklin, but one in which he showed his genius for adaptability to any conditions under which he might work and to any duty to which he might be called.

It was, you know, a favorite maxim with Franklin that he would not seek office, that he was not inclined to accept it, but, having accepted, he would not resign.

And so everywhere, even in these minor duties as a military man, Franklin gave evidence of his ability and his persistent endeavor to do his whole duty.

Later on he acted in a military capacity in the service of Pennsylvania, in meeting the attacks of the Indians, and he showed himself capable, not only as a tactician, but as a field officer. His military experience was not extensive enough to warrant any conclusion as to what his after life would have been had he remained in the service. However, this may be, it was sufficient to give him an appreciative idea of what military activity meant, and it later led him to originate, or at least agree to, a plan intended to protect the colonies permanently against the French and Indian assaults.

This plan, however, never reached fruition, because Canada came to England as the result of the war with France. Nevertheless, he endeavored to perfect a plan, extending the colonies inland. His thought was that it would be a glorious thing if the fine country at the west of the then settled districts could be populated with a strong body of religious and industrious people. His prophecy was that in less than another century the Ohio valley might become a populous and powerful domain, and a great acquisition of power either to England or to France.

How completely his prophecy has been fulfilled, but the great, powerful domain of the Ohio valley is an acquisition of another kind of power, for it holds the political balance of the United States, and it would be a power in the event of any conflict with England or France, as it was a power in the endeavor of this nation to protect its own integrity.

These experiences fitted Franklin for those other and grander activities in which he was engaged.

In 1749 Franklin entered upon a new duty which gave him still greater command of conditions in America and which was to stand him in great need in his services in England. This was as a commissioner to treat with the Indians, and in this mission he met with success, but chiefly he learned about the Indians.

Another experience was in 1754, when there was every appearance of war between England and France, and war finally breaking out, but the beginnings were on this side of the Atlantic instead of on the other. The British Lords of Trade ordered a congress to assemble at Albany for a conference with the chiefs of the Six Nations. Commissioners represented several colonies, and they met June 19, 1754. Franklin represented the Province of Pennsylvania. The significance of this conference, so far as Franklin is concerned, is the fact that when proceeding to Albany he took the time to project and draw up a plan for the union of all colonies under one government.

It cannot be said that this was an entirely new idea, for William Penn, as far back as 1697, had called attention to the necessity of a commercial union and an annual congress.

The congress voted, and unanimously, that a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary for their security and defence. The only dele-

gation which had been authorized to take into consideration such a question was that of Massachusetts, and it was given power to enter into some kind of a confederation in times of peace as well as of war. Franklin had urged this policy in his "Gazette," and when the views and the ideas of the various delegations were compared, his were deemed the best. The proposed league resembled in large degree the tentative compact which was entered into to carry on the Revolution, but this Albany project came to nothing.

It was adopted, to be sure, but when sent to the colonial assemblies it was condemned, the members holding that there was too much prerogative in the compact. The English Board of Trade would not approve it because it was too democratic.

Franklin was led on these grounds to consider the proposed agreement as really the true medium. But one may rest assured that Franklin never forgot either the project or the discussion, and it bore its fruits in 1787.

There was another very influential matter that came before this congress. Governor Shirley of this State presented a scheme to Dr. Franklin, under which an assembly of the governors of all the colonies, with some others, was to have authority to take such measures as such a group of men might deem necessary for the defence of the colonies, but with the power to call on the English treasury to meet expenses, such expenses, however, to be reimbursed by a tax laid on the colonies by act of Parliament.

Franklin was alarmed at this, and he wrote several letters, some of which were afterwards published in the London *Chronicle*, to the effect that the colonies could take care of their self-defence and the expenses connected therewith; that such matters were not outside of their own willingness as loyal subjects, and that they should be managed entirely by the assemblies. He insisted that the loyalty of the colonists could be trusted, that they had better knowledge than the Parliament, but his chief point — and here is the significance of that early experience, which it must be remembered was in 1754, twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence — and that was on the question of taxation without representation. Franklin insisted "That it is supposed an

undoubted right of Englishmen not to be taxed but by their own consent, given through their representatives. That the colonists have no representation in Parliament. That compelling the colonists to pay money without their consent would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit. That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects."

So Franklin went over the ground which became so familiar just before the Revolution; but the grounds of that familiarity, the grounds of the action of the colonists, their attitude on the Stamp Act, all the economic reasons for the Revolution, were being suggested by Franklin, and our nascent republic was learning a lesson which crystallized into such positive conviction that there was no force which could withstand it.

It was fortunate for Franklin that as a printer he had spent a year and a half when about eighteen years of age — from December, 1724, to July, 1726 — in London, thus becoming acquainted with that great city and its thoroughfares and some of its ways, for Franklin was a young man with his eyes and ears always open, ready to learn and ready to profit by his learning; so when at the age of fifty-one, in 1757, he was sent to England as the representative of the Province of Pennsylvania, to secure some redress through the action of Parliament as against the Penn proprietaries, who declined to pay taxes towards the support of the province, Franklin found himself in a community with which, in a way, he was fairly well acquainted. The Province of Pennsylvania considered him as a man of influence and prestige among his fellow colonists, not to be approached by any of the others in the provincial assembly.

He had taken strong ground against the Penn proprietaries, and so he was the man to be sent to England to secure the redress sought.

These proprietaries lived in England and their American estate was vast, for it contained about two hundred thousand white inhabitants, and they, like the Irish peasant landlords, looked upon their American holdings simply as a source of personal revenue. The principal point in the discussion was as to whether the waste lands owned by these proprietaries, and some other lands, should be taxed in the same manner as like property in the Province. The proprietaries refused to pay such tax, but the

Assembly was insistent that it was not only their duty to pay it, but it was the right of the Assembly to assess the tax. It can be easily understood, with our views of things in these times, how this question originated a quarrel deep seated and far reaching.

Franklin was commissioned to secure redress, but he had another errand, and this was to induce the king to resume his former relations to the Province of Pennsylvania by considering it his own. The charter contained a clause to this effect, which right could be exercised on the payment of a certain sum of money.

The colonists, tired of the rule of the successors of the noble and generous Penn, did not hesitate in their preference to become subjects of the Crown, or an appenage of the Crown, instead of remaining a fief of the Penns.

Governors of other Provinces were sympathetic in this movement but from different motives. The colonists of those days did not hesitate in expressing their preference for a monarchy rather than for a private individual as a master. The whole question, therefore, when Franklin reached England, resolved itself into one of the power of taxation and the distinct representations of Franklin as to the sentiment of the colonists.

He wrote strong letters, but he was then not only a colonist, but a loyal subject of Britain. The question of the cession of Canada was involved in some of his discussions, and his letters may well be read when studying the causes of the Revolution. But his experiences then and there constituted a great school for the statesmanship and the diplomacy of the future.

The lesson to Franklin and the influence which his part in those early discussions brought him, gave him an equipment for his after services in England in his attempts to prevent the Stamp Act, and later his attempts to secure its repeal, held by no other man in America.

He returned to America in 1762, having been in England five years, prepared to take up his work in the affairs of his Province. The proprietary party had won the victory, but the Province of Pennsylvania was not satisfied, and it seriously considered sending Dr. Franklin to England with a petition for a royal government.

The Opposition became furious at this suggestion, and thought the

movement one likely to inflame the resentments and embitter the discontents of the people.

A majority of the Assembly, however, singled out this man, who was said to be so obnoxious to his country, to represent it, although he had been defeated as a candidate for that body, where he had contributed his valuable services for fourteen years.

Franklin again went forth, landing at the Isle of Wight in December, 1764. He expected to remain but a short time, and supposed he had no mission but that of securing if possible a change of government, but he remained there on this mission, and on others that were sent him, ten years, for instead of being simply the representative of the Province of Pennsylvania to secure the desired change, he, in fact, became the representative of the whole people practically in prosecuting their cause not only against the monarchy but against the whole government of the British empire in its efforts to pass the notorious Stamp Act.

The Treaty of 1763 brought great advantages to the British possessions in America, but they were not all desirable. The Colonies were forced into a perilous position. They had expended much in life and in money, they had impaired their financial resources, and yet they had, of their own motive, taxed themselves to raise large sums, but the English treasury had suffered, and the English people were burdened with heavy taxes.

Various suggestions were made for an improvement in the condition of the imperial treasury, and the Stamp Act was proposed as a means for strengthening the British finances. The threatened act had caused much irritation among the colonies. Franklin had condemned the scheme, and resolutions had been passed antagonistic to it; but on March 22, 1765, ten years before the revolutionary movement in America was crystallized, the act received the signature of the royal commission.

Franklin did all he could to stay the British Parliament in passing this act. He took every step in his power to prevent it, but he found the tide too strong against the colonies, which were claiming in some places independence. Franklin in London was receiving news of the murmurs of the agitation in America. He himself had taken the ground years before that secession was impossible, for all the American towns of

importance, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, were exposed to the English navy.

The gap widened between him and his English friends, although the position of the colonial patriots was in accord with Franklin's own opinions. He talked of his love for England, and he was perfectly sincere, and he was also sincere as a patriotic American.

While affairs in England after the Stamp Act seemed to assume a more friendly attitude towards America, there soon began to be a feeling of irritation and of decided opposition to any measure looking to the benefit of the colonies. Pitt and others were more familiar with American affairs. They feared the weapon of non-importation and all the whole range of boycotts that the colonies could place on English goods. The British merchants became depressed, their commerce affected, and through all these things, aided and stimulated by Franklin himself, the idea that the Stamp Act should be repealed grew and measures were adopted to that end.

Meantime, during this whole period Franklin became not only the agent of Pennsylvania, but of Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, representing their commercial affairs, and incidentally their interests in the repeal of the Stamp Act. The influence of Chatham began to appear most formidable, and it was in January, 1766, that he sent forth from St. Stephen's the memorable words: "The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. As subjects they are entitled to the common right of representation, and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent."

The matter was brought to a legislative crisis by a resolution introduced into the House of Lords the next month, February, 1766, providing that the "king in Parliament has full power to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever."

It was now that Franklin, who had not been idle, underwent that examination which is historic, before the House of Commons. He there displayed his ability perhaps to greater and maybe better advantages than during any other experience in his life.

He was summoned to give testimony relative to the condition of affairs in the colonies, at the bar of the House of Commons, that body sitting

as a committee of the whole, and well did Franklin play his part. His answers to the questions put to him were bold, sensible, and thoroughly pronounced in every respect; they were the armory of the colonies.

Franklin was thoroughly advised at this time not only of colonial sentiments, but likewise as to colonial conditions, and when asked "Can anything less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?" he said, "I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose." He said a military force, if sent into America would find nobody in arms. "They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one." He assured the House that if the act was not repealed there would be a "total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to England, and of all the commerce that depends upon that respect and affection." He told the members that if the act were not repealed, the people would take very little of the manufactures, and that it was in their power to do without the productions of British establishments. The battle went on and it was due to Franklin that the Stamp Act was repealed. Of course others contributed to this great event, but without Franklin the act would have remained as a part of the constitution of England.

It was repealed on March 18, and the repeal received the signature of the king. It can easily be understood what the feeling was in America when this victory was announced.

Then came the ante-Revolutionary days in England for Franklin. The repeal of the Stamp Act had not settled matters. Various controversies arose, among the rest that concerning the unfortunate episode of the Hutchinson papers. The repeal of the Stamp Act became unpopular in England, as the act itself had been in this country. There was no justice in the repeal, and no good feeling entered into the action of Parliament towards the colonies. It was actuated by the selfish reason that the existence of the act was causing some trouble to English commerce.

This, however, revealed an additional reason through the hesitancy of the British Government to provide a standing army on the other side of the Atlantic. Many of the colonies, in fact a majority of them, were still loyal to England, as was Franklin, and they all tried to establish that

fact, but the English Parliament and the British administrative forces did not care to commit any more blunders. Franklin endeavored by all means to induce the English to act in a friendly way to their colonies to preserve them, and thus extend the dignity and grandeur of the British Empire.

The irritations, however, continued. The agents of our colonies were refused admission to the House of Commons, the cabinet was beginning to be unstable, and Franklin himself received disrespectful treatment at the hands of Lord Hillsborough, who insisted that the provincial agents were obstructors of ministerial measures.

The British cabinet was still insisting upon its peculiar rights, although Franklin argued for a restoration of the *status quo* before the Stamp Act; but his dreams in this respect were chimerical. He did not despair, however, and still urged that no measures should be taken to alienate the colonial affection and sympathy.

It was before the Privy Council that Franklin showed to the greatest advantage and brought to himself imperishable renown.

The Council was bound to destroy his influence, for he had many friends, and upon some trumped-up matters he was summonsed to appear to answer certain interrogatories relative to the Hutchinson papers incident. Men hostile to Franklin filled the cockpit, as if to witness an entertainment. Besides the thirty-five councilors present there was an immense crowd of others.

Franklin stood throughout the whole proceedings, feeling that the whole affair had been preconcerted. He stood there immovable, with his features composed, his arms folded, and at sixty-eight years of age met all the epithets and insults that could be heaped upon him. He was told that nothing would acquit him of the charge of obtaining the Hutchinson papers by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes, unless he stole them from the person who stole them. He was told that he had forfeited all the respect of societies and of men, and the question was asked, "Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face or the honest intrepidity of virtue?" And the audience was told that men would watch him with a jealous eye and lock up their escritoires. "He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a man of letters." But he not only took away the letters,

it was said, "from one brother, but kept himself concealed until he nearly occasioned the murder of the other." "It is impossible," said his accusers, "to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. Amidst these tragical events — of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue, of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests, the fate of America in suspense, here is a man who stands up and avows himself the author of all." "I ask, my lords," said Wedderburn, "whether the revengeful temper attributed, by poetic fiction only, to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American."

To Dr. Franklin's great credit he allowed all these insults to pass over him. With masterly self-poise and control he kept his righteous anger from asserting itself, and bore meekly, amiably, and quietly the combined attacks of the Privy Council. He did entertain the idea of answering the abuse heaped upon him, not for his own sake, but because his compatriots were stigmatized by the king and Parliament as being in every respect the worst of mankind.

The next Saturday he was dismissed from the service of His Majesty's postmaster general. The action of the Privy Council did him much injury at home and abroad, but the integrity of his character and the sincerity of his life overcame all opposition, and when he left England he left many friends there.

He could no longer be of service in the mother country; he could not even benefit by the good offices of Lord Dartmouth, to whom he later on sent a memorial. The Earl of Dartmouth was Secretary of State. In this memorial Franklin demanded reparation for the injury done by the blockade of the port of Boston, and he made many statements in this that place him on record as the great patriot of his day. He concluded it with these significant words: "I give notice that satisfaction will probably one day be demanded for all the injury that may be done and suffered in the execution of such act; and that the injustice of the proceeding is likely to give such umbrage to all the colonies, that in no future war, wherein other conquests may be meditated, either a man or a shilling will be obtained from any of them to aid such conquests, till full satisfaction be made as aforesaid."

Here was a shot that might make England pause. By it Franklin placed the colonies on equal terms with England, and it was perhaps the only time when Franklin, self-poised as he was, allowed himself the utterance of the passion of his feelings.

Warned by Walpole, a loyal Englishman, but Franklin's friend, that his person might not be safe if he remained in England, Franklin made preparations for his departure, and closed the term of his second mission to England, arriving in Philadelphia, May 5, 1775, only a few days after the memorable incidents at Concord and Lexington.

One cannot crystallize into exact expression just the form of our indebtedness to Franklin during this second service in England. It was a part of the great whole of his services as statesman and diplomatist, and must be considered not alone, but in connection with other services of like character.

He had been a loyal friend of England, although a true and uncompromising patriot in the colonies and loyal to their interests, but when the events of 1773-4-5 in England occurred and Franklin took his departure, he came back to America ready for any revolution, ready for any action, and two months after he arrived in Philadelphia he wrote his friend Strahan a letter, now famous in our history. He said: "You are a member of Parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction. You have begun to burn our towns and murder our people. Look upon your hands; they are stained with the blood of your relations. You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am, Yours,

B. FRANKLIN."

After Franklin's return he was unanimously elected a delegate to the Provincial Congress. He continued to sit in that body until his departure for France. That congress, pusillanimous, vacillating at times, found enough to do and enough to tax the ingenuity and wisdom of Franklin. He was upon the most important committees. There were many councils in that congress and Franklin had the arduous task of bringing them to a common understanding.

It was in July, 1775, that Franklin prepared a sketch of a plan of

confederation which was presented to Congress, although that body never took it up. His time and strength were taxed to the utmost, especially as chairman of the committee of safety. In September, with Lynch of South Carolina and Harrison of Virginia, he was sent to Cambridge to visit General Washington and consult him relative to the military condition of the colonies. In the spring of 1776 he made a journey to Montreal for the purpose of consulting General Arnold relative to Canadian affairs. This was not only a severe but a very cruel task for the authorities to put upon a man of Franklin's age. At about the same time he was made a member of the convention charged to prepare a constitution for the State of Pennsylvania.

Curiously enough, or at least it so seems now, the provincial congress, took the ground that the colonies did not aim to secure independence, but Samuel Adams, who was disgusted at such a declaration, did not hesitate to foment the idea of a New England confederacy, and Franklin declared that if such a scheme were carried into effect he would be found among the New Englanders. Very soon Franklin was made a member of a committee of five to frame a declaration of independence, and this declaration was signed by him.

In the same month occurred his conference with Lord Howe, commander of the English naval forces. Franklin and Lord Howe had been friends in England, and it was thought that they might arrange for peace; but nothing came of it, although Lord Howe did all he could to bring about friendly relations. He asked, "Is there no way of treating back of this step of independency?" Franklin replied at considerable length, closing with these words: "Forces have been sent out and towns have been burnt. We cannot now expect happiness under the domination of Great Britain. All former attachments are obliterated. America cannot return to the domination of Great Britain, and I imagine that Great Britain means to rest it upon force." John Adams and Rutledge, who were with Franklin at this time, were equally forceful in their answers to Howe. Adams avowed his determination never to depart from the idea of independency, and Rutledge said it was impossible for the people to consent to come under the English Government. Disappointed, Lord Howe withdrew, and the conference ended.

Such statements ought at the time to have silenced forever all insinuations that Franklin was then even a friend of England.

So prominent had he become in statecraft, so informed relative to the conditions in the colonies, so powerful in his influence, it is not strange that he was elected envoy to France in 1776, and that he departed on one of the most interesting and patriotic errands ever committed to an ambassador, and an experience which has never fallen to the lot of any other American Minister, more important in shaping the history of this country than anything else, except the battles that were fought on the fields of the Revolution.

It is a long story from 1776 to 1785, when Franklin returned from Paris, and it is a period so full of events, so full of life, so full of results, that it seems now, as we look back upon it, that the nine years were not enough to compass all that Franklin did in that period. For it must be admitted that, notwithstanding the professions of Congress, Franklin was sent on a mission of begging, and well he carried out that mission.

We have seen from estimates already given how he was considered in France, how the wise Turgot met him, and the tribute he paid him in those memorable words, "He snatched the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from tyrants." This gives the conception of the French estimate of Franklin, and all through his life in Paris he was greeted everywhere, not only as the greatest American, but as the greatest scientist and patriot of the day.

The temptation in preparing this address to spend the whole time allotted to me on Franklin in France has been almost too great a one to be resisted, for its romance, its social side, its development of all the happy traits of Franklin's happy character, the experiences in the salons, the friendships of great men and great women not only in France, but in other courts of Europe, all the delights, all the pain, all the patience, these draw upon one and form so full a picture, that his endeavors to secure money and influence and men and ships seem like crude physical things thrust upon the æsthetic side of a great play.

He fulfilled his mission well. He not only borrowed money, but he obtained gifts. Jay was in Spain and John Adams in Holland, and neither could get money enough to pay their own expenses or their own

salaries without drafts upon Franklin. When Franklin arrived abroad, when Jay arrived abroad, when John Adams arrived abroad, they all found drafts from Congress without any instructions as to how to meet them. Jay and Adams turned theirs over to Franklin, and Franklin met them. His personal relations with the king, his confidential relations with the Count de Vergennes, his whole personality, constituted the richest banking house the United States ever established.

In all the studies I have made of Franklin's life and acts I find little has been told about his intrinsic value as a banker to the United States. Everything, as a matter of fact, of just what he did, has been clearly related, but his influence in Paris, his unmatched services in promoting the affairs of the American Revolution, the assistance he gave every one who asked it and who was entitled to it, his personal generosity, his untiring patience, all these, constituting him the most effective agent of the Revolution, have not been fully enough emphasized as showing our great debt to him.

We know what he did for Paul Jones, but only in a perfunctory way. What would Paul Jones's career have been had it not been for Franklin? Would we of this age have persisted with reverence and affection in discovering the remains of the great privateer and bringing them to this country for permanent burial, had not Franklin made possible that career which has invited the enthusiasm of all the periods since that time? We owe the greatest possible debt to Franklin; owe the memory of Paul Jones, of his heroic deeds, of his great service; all these rest upon the debt to Franklin, who may be called "The Father of the American Navy," as well as "The Father of American Diplomacy." What would the reputation of Robert Morris, who stands as the father of American finance, be, what would be his renown, had it not been for the great banker in Paris? And Washington, who has his own great place in the hall of fame — could he have carried out the wonderful work committed to him, had not the sinews of war been so largely supplied by the diplomatist in France? Ever ready, always ready, even when discouraged, even when subject to the abuse and pusillanimity of a contemptible congress, always patriotic, always ready to sacrifice, always ready to act, and who met every call upon him.

Jay borrowed in Spain during the years 1781–82, $174,017; Adams, with the guarantee of Franklin, borrowed in Holland, $1,304,000; Franklin, unaided, by his own persistency, patience, and good fellowship, borrowed in France, from 1777 to 1783 inclusive, $6,352,500, and besides this, then enormous sum, he obtained gifts of nearly two million dollars more.

How can we measure the debt we owe Franklin for his services as minister plenipotentiary to France, and if we cannot measure them in this respect, how can we measure them when he was made commissioner in 1781 to make peace with Great Britain, that peace to the securing of which he contributed more than any other one man, except his great compeer, Washington.

All through these great negotiations, Franklin stood for the recognition of the independence of the colonies. Although in the initiative proceedings he had some views that were not in harmony with those of Jay and Adams, his fellow commissioners, yet on their representation of facts and the feelings of the colonists, Franklin nobly joined in the views of his associates, and the peace was declared.

Criticisms have been made of Franklin's course, even to the extent of criticising his patriotism, but it is a bold man who could seriously entertain any such criticism. It should be remembered that Franklin understood Frenchmen, Jay understood them a little, and that John Adams understood them not at all. Franklin had lived in France for nine years; he enjoyed the confidence, he was the idol of the people, and everywhere he went he was the object of adoration and admiration and reverence even. There had been a compact between him and the French Government that all terms of peace, whenever an attempt was made to negotiate them between England and the United States, should first be submitted to the French Government. These things Jay and Adams ignored; Franklin was glad to be able to ignore them, but all of them must be taken into consideration when his conduct is criticized.

Franklin did not wish to break with the French Government. The French had been too kind and generous, too helpful in money, in ships, in arms, without which Yorktown could not have been. And so Franklin's attitude, his temperament, his familiarity with French

ways and French temper, compelled him to a certain line of thought which could not be appreciated by his great associates.

To them all the conclusion of the negotiations was due, but to Franklin more than to the others, because neither France would have approved nor England consented to any terms whatever short of their own making that had not been pushed persistently and received the indorsement of Franklin, for it should be remembered that Franklin was a power in England at that time as well as at home.

So Franklin came home with a mortgage from the American people that can never be paid. And when he came home he placed the whole American people forever and forever, so long as America shall stand, under another and more peculiar obligation, and this time as a statesman of the highest order.

I need not carry you through the work of the constitutional convention.

Franklin arrived home in 1785, old, feeble, worn out in the service of his country, but he was immediately elected to the State Council and made president of Pennsylvania. He found enough to do, for although in some sense an indolent man, Franklin was never idle. In May, 1787, he was added to the Pennsylvania delegation to the convention which was to frame a new constitution. He took his full part in this, and in two respects, and most vital at that, is to be found our debt to him, so far as the Constitution is concerned.

There had been much discussion during many, many weeks as to the problem of the balance of power and the check of action in the Congress which the Constitution provided, and at last Franklin, out of his wisdom, out of his vast experience, suggested a simple compromise, which was that there should be an equal number of delegates for all States, an equal vote for all States upon questions respecting the authority or sovereignty of the States, and upon appointments and confirmations; but votes to be apportioned according to the populations of the States respectively upon all bills for raising and spending money. This led to that section of the Constitution which provides that in the Senate each State shall have equal power and influence — two votes — and that in the House of Representatives the members shall be apportioned among all the States

according to population, and that all bills for the raising of revenue shall originate in the House.

It is true that Randolph, of Virginia, and Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, made some suggestions looking to this provision of the balancing and checking of the two houses, but it was finally on the adoption of Franklin's compromise that the real genius of the suggestions was crystallized as part of the new Constitution.

This ended the controversy, and that splendidly balanced provision has remained, and must remain, so long as our States are of diverse interests and of varied population.

But we owe him another debt relative to this same Constitution, and that is concerning its adoption. Who can read the speech of Dr. Franklin when the deliberations in the Constitutional Convention had ceased and the question was upon the adoption of the report of a committee designated to frame the instrument. Franklin arose and with that humor which must have stood him in great need in many a serious conflict, as it did the great Lincoln in our own time, addressed the assembly, urging the members to sacrifice their own views, to accept what they did not like, as he did, standing by all that was good, and so send a constitution before the people with the unanimous approval of the convention. So the Constitution was signed, adopted, and left for popular vote.

Franklin did his share, more perhaps than his share, in securing the adoption of the Constitution by the individual States. Thus we owe him another debt as a statesman, and a debt which we can never pay.

The last public act of Dr. Franklin was a communication urging the abolition of slavery. True to his instincts, true to his religion, true to all the experiences of his life, he left this great bequest, his advocacy of the freedom of all men. He had signed the Magna Charta of America, which declared that all men were born free and equal, and he died urging that the princlples of that great charter be carried out.

There are other debts which can never be paid. I refer to his youth. Considered under the codes of to-day, Franklin could not be said to have been a perfectly moral man, yet in his day he was one of the most moral of men, and everything he wrote substantiates the truth of this statement.

While in Philadelphia before he went to London and while in that

city he was somewhat dissolute in his habits, but he testifies that he wrestled with himself and conquered. He says that when he was a boy, this in a letter in his eightieth year to Mr. Samuel Mather, he met with a book entitled "Essays to do Good," written by Cotton Mather, the father of his correspondent, and that the book gave him such a turn of thinking as to have influenced his conduct through life, for, to use his own language, "I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owe the advantage of it to that book." It was Franklin's indorsement of that little book that induced the Sunday School Society of Massachusetts to republish it in 1845, and they never did a better act in the way of pubishing.

Some have regretted that Franklin had not been a more earnest student of the gospel of Christ; yet "the devout reliance upon a superintending Providence, attested by frequent prayer which characterized him from his youth upwards, and which never failed him in private or public life — his intimacy with Whitefield and with the 'Good Bishop' of St. Asaph — his earnest, religious advice to his daughter, and his strenuous remonstrance against the infidel publications of Paine — furnish ample evidence of a reverence for sacred things and solemn observances, which might well put to shame the indifference of not a few of those who may be most disposed to cavil about his views of Christianity." (Robert C. Winthrop.)

Franklin himself had no theology that could be formulated in an arbitrary creed, but he was a believer in God; he was a believer in personal righteousness; his whole life was an exemplification of the highest Christian spirit in man. His innumerable writings testify to this, but if he had never uttered a word relative to his own belief, his acts all through life must stand as the monumental evidence of his religious character. And the few episodes in youth, and perhaps in after years, errata, as he called them, must all be brought under the codes of the times, and not attributed to the lack of any moral tone in Franklin himself. Would that all men could show the same Christian, brotherly spirit to all other men that Franklin showed.

Some of his utterances are profound, as they strike to the very heart of man, and no greater tribute can be paid him than to quote his own words, except to quote the words put into his mouth by that matchless orator whom I have already cited, Mr. Winthrop: "I was once as you are now — houseless and penniless, without fortune and without friends. But never despair — be just and fear not, be sober, be diligent, be frugal, be faithful, love man and love God, and do your whole duty to yourself, to your neighbor, and to your country, in whatever circumstances you are placed — and you, also, may do good in your day and generation, and you, too, may haply leave a name that shall be remembered and honored in all ages and throughout all climes." Here is the essence of the spirit of practical Christianity.

He was a philosopher, and as a philosopher could not be a dogmatic theologian, but our debt to him is great indeed for his Christian spirit, for his philosophic reception of all the ills of life, and for the deeds he sent ringing down the ages. No young man or woman can read the life of Franklin without inspiration, without being influenced to a better, cleaner life, and this is the great test.

How can we reduce these debts? How can we show our appreciation of them? The great editions of his works and the masterly biographies, the accounts of his writings, and such exercises as these constitute one form of monument to his virtue and to his memory, and a partial payment of the great and ever-increasing interest on our debt to him.

Everywhere you find monuments in stone and bronze, productions in marble and on canvas, streets and counties and cities and towns bearing his name. America is not alone in these tributes. His autobiography is known everywhere; his face is more familiar than that of any other man of the past; the school children of our great metropolis love him, and as they receive his medal they bear him in grateful remembrance.

What if he may not have been a Plutarch or a Socrates, a Prometheus or an Archimedes? We need not indulge in these comparisons. We place him as our own, as the product of our own land, on the very highest pedestal of our hearts and our adoration, except that one who must ever be first in the hearts of his countrymen.

The artist can paint the scenes at Saratoga, can picture Valley Forge in all its dreariness and its suffering, and can reproduce the glory of Yorktown, but no painter and no sculptor can give us the life of Franklin in Paris, can transfer to canvas the untiring patience, the wonderful persistency, the sublime results of his efforts there to save his country and to make it great. The painter might reproduce that wonderful and marvellous scene before the Privy Council, and reproduce the attitude, the expression, the immobility of countenance — less the humiliation of our hero — but he could not paint the firm will, the determined spirit, the control of passion which enabled him to bear that ordeal and showed him the victor, and not the insulting council itself.

In deep gratitude, in deep appreciation, then, lies the course for all posterity. Let Franklin's principles, let his acts, let his patriotism, let his wonderful services never be forgotten, but let the Goddess of Liberty which he helped to crown, with each revolving year speak to Americans and united America the name of Benjamin Franklin.

THE POEM

BY THE HON. JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE

DR. LORY BACON FENDERSON, THE READER

INTRODUCED BY THE CHAIRMAN

The Honorable James Jeffrey Roche, a citizen of Boston, at the present time holding a public position in a foreign land, has kindly consented to place on Franklin's brow a wreath of laurel in the form of a poem, and he has requested his personal friend, Dr. Lory Bacon Fenderson, to read it in his stead; and I now introduce him to the audience.

Dr. Fenderson then read with fine effect and nice appreciation the following poem: —

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

POEM BY THE HON. JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE

A land full grown among the great of earth,
Due honor pays to one who saw its birth,
Its cradle tended and its steps of youth
Directed straight to liberty and truth;
Who practised as he preached, without pretence,
The first of Yankee virtues, Common Sense.
For its keen ears no lie is safely framed;
Before its touchstone every sham is shamed.
It holds no pseudo patriot to its breast,
Nor new aristocrat whose home-made crest
And lengthy pedigree in patience wrought
Proclaim the product grand of Ten-times-nought.

No wisdom claimed our Franklin o'er his kind,
But clearest sight where half the earth was blind.
Great was his virtue, in a servile age,
Who could so well man's equal rights presage,
When hoary centuries had laughed to scorn
The lofty message of the Manger-born.
Much did he of the pregnant truth discern;
Much left for us and future ones to learn;
To curb the pride of race, of rank, of gold,
The pride of intellect, worse manifold
Than all, as if the mind were self-endowed,
A Pharisee of its high meekness proud.

Our first philosopher loved not the sword.
War and its glories his true soul abhorred.
For peace he wrought, yet left the sage advice:
"Peace may be purchased at too high a price."
So, we, of all the past forgetting naught,
Must guard our weal for which the fathers fought,

And best may guard it when we have the might
To keep in peace that which they won in fight.
The world is slow to learn the lesson still
That man must rule himself, for good or ill.
Wise fools deny the Lawmaker because
They think they've learned a few of His great laws.
So sceptics saw but chaos for the world
When the Republic its new flag unfurled;
But all mankind acclaims its might to-day
In staying bloodshed half a world away.

Yet is our country's duty but half done;
No triumph of to-day is wholly won,
Unless we build to-morrow's walls more strong,
Till every stone holds down a buried wrong;
Till jobbers in the Temple come to grief,
And even politics bar out the thief.
Then when the rule of greed is overthrown
May simple Honesty come to her own.

JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE.

CONCLUDING EXERCISES

The national hymn, "America," was then sung by the school chorus and the audience, standing, while the orchestra and the organ, played by Mr. Grant Lane, furnished the accompaniment, the whole conducted by Mr. James M. McLaughlin, director of music in the Boston public schools.

The chairman then spoke as follows: —

Before this gathering breaks up, I should like to express the thanks of the committee in charge both to the English High School orchestra and the pupils of the Boston public schools, for the pleasure they have given at these exercises.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Resolve of the General Court Authorizing the Celebration

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Resolves of 1905

[Chap. 64.]

Resolve to provide for commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

Resolved, That the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, is hereby authorized to appoint a committee of five persons, citizens of the commonwealth, one of whom he shall designate as chairman, and all of whom shall serve without compensation, to be known as the Franklin Centennial Committee. Said committee shall consider plans and arrange for and carry out fitting exercises for the proper celebration, on January 17, 1906, of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. The exercises shall be held in Boston, and the committee is authorized to join with the proper authorities of the city of Boston for the purpose of carrying out the same. For the purposes of this resolve the committee may expend a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, to be paid out of the treasury of the commonwealth: *provided*, that the city of Boston certifies to the auditor of the commonwealth that the city council has appropriated a like sum for the same purpose. [*Approved*, May 1, 1905.

APPENDIX B

Order of the City Council of Boston, authorizing Concurrent Action

CITY OF BOSTON

Board of Aldermen, October 9, 1905

[Extract from Records.]

The following was received:

City of Boston,
Office of the Mayor,
October 9, 1905.

To the City Council: —

The General Court of Massachusetts, during its session for the year 1905, passed a resolution authorizing the Governor of the Commonwealth to designate certain persons to "consider plans and arrange for, and carry out fitting exercises for the

proper celebration, on January 17, 1906, of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin." In the same resolution the General Court stipulated that the exercises should be held in the city of Boston, and made an appropriation to partially defray the expense of the exercises; but it made both the appropriation and the making of arrangements conditional upon the city of Boston joining with the commonwealth and making a like appropriation for the purpose.

I recommend that this be done, in order that on the second centennial of his birth, the wisdom and public service of Benjamin Franklin may be fittingly commemorated in the city in which he was born and which he loved so well.

Respectfully,

DANIEL A. WHELTON,

Acting Mayor.

Ordered, That the Acting Mayor be authorized to join with the commonwealth in making arrangements for exercises to be held in the city of Boston on January 17, 1906, to properly celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, and that for said purpose the Acting Mayor be authorized to expend not exceeding one thousand dollars, to be charged to the appropriation for Mayor, Public Celebrations.

Passed. Sent down.

CITY OF BOSTON

COMMON COUNCIL, October 12, 1905

[Extract from the Records.]

PAPERS FROM BOARD OF ALDERMEN.

Message of Acting Mayor relative to the observance of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

The following order accompanies said message:

Ordered, That the Acting Mayor be authorized to join with the commonwealth in making arrangements for exercises to be held in the city of Boston on January 17 1906, to properly celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, and that for said purpose the Acting Mayor be authorized to expend not exceeding one thousand dollars, to be charged to the appropriation for Mayor, Public Celebrations.

The communication was placed on file, and the order was passed in concurrence.

APPENDIX C

Resolve of the General Court authorizing the Publication of this Volume

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Resolves of 1906

[Chap. 51.]

Resolve to provide for the publication of the proceedings at the Franklin Bi-Centennial Celebration.

Resolved, That there shall be allowed and paid out of the treasury of the commonwealth to be expended under the direction of the Franklin Bi-Centennial Committee a sum not exceeding seven hundred dollars for the publication of the proceedings of the celebration, provided that a like sum is appropriated by the city of Boston for the same purpose. [*Approved*, April 23, 1906.

APPENDIX D

Order of the City Council of Boston in Concurrence with the Above

CITY OF BOSTON

Board of Aldermen, April 30, 1906

[Extract from the Records.]

The following was received:

City of Boston,
Office of the Mayor.

To the City Council: —

The General Court of Massachusetts has, during the present session, passed a resolution making an appropriation for publishing the proceedings of the Franklin Bi-Centennial Celebration, held under the joint auspices of the state and of the city on January 17th of this year.

The appropriation made by the state is conditional upon the city making a like appropriation. I recommend that this be done, in order that there may be a fitting record of the testimonial of our citizens to the wisdom and public services rendered by Benjamin Franklin to the city and the state in which he was born, and which he throughout his life cherished so highly.

Respectfully,

John F. Fitzgerald,
Mayor.

Ordered, That His Honor the Mayor be authorized to expend a sum not exceeding seven hundred dollars ($700) to meet the city's portion of the expense of publishing the proceedings of the celebration held under the direction of the Franklin Bi-Centennial Committee, on January 17, 1906; the amount expended to be charged to the appropriation for Mayor, Public Celebrations.

Passed. Sent down.

CITY OF BOSTON

COMMON COUNCIL, May 3, 1906

[Extract from the Records.]

PAPERS FROM BOARD OF ALDERMEN

Mayor's message recommending an appropriation for publication of proceedings at Franklin Bi-Centennial Celebration.

The following order accompanies said message:

Ordered, That His Honor the Mayor be authorized to expend a sum not exceeding seven hundred dollars ($700) to meet the city's portion of the expense of publishing the proceedings of the celebration held under the direction of the Franklin Bi-Centennial Committee on January 17, 1906; the amount expended to be charged to the appropriation for Mayor, Public Celebrations.

The message was placed on file, and the order, under the rule, will take its second reading at the next meeting.

COMMON COUNCIL, May 10, 1906.

[Extract from the Records.]

PUBLICATION OF FRANKLIN PROCEEDINGS.

The Council proceeded to take up No. 7, unfinished business, viz.:

Ordered, That His Honor the Mayor be authorized to expend a sum not exceeding seven hundred dollars ($700) to meet the city's portion of the expense of publishing the proceedings of the celebration held under the direction of the Franklin Bi-Centennial Committee on January 17, 1906; the amount expended to be charged to the appropriation for Mayor, Public Celebrations.

Passed in concurrence.

APPENDIX E

Selections from the Writings of Benjamin Franklin

prepared by lindsay swift, esq., one of the committee, for use in the public schools of boston

On the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Franklin's Birth

FRANKLIN, THE BOY, AT WORK AND PLAY

At ten years old I was taken home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business he was not bred to, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dyeing trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wick for the candles, filling the dipping mould and the moulds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination for the sea, but my father declared against it; however, living near the water, I was much in and about it, learnt early to swim well, and to manage boats; and when in a boat or canoe with other boys I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally a leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted.

There was a salt-marsh that bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which at high water we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much tramping we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and working with them diligently, like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest.

FRANKLIN'S EARLY READING AND STUDIES

About this time I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished if possible to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses. . . . Therefore, I took some of the tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collections of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and complete the paper. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of thoughts. By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered many faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that in certain particulars of small import I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious.

FRANKLIN'S FIRST ARRIVAL IN PHILADELPHIA

Then one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the creek, and arrived there about eight or nine o'clock on the Sunday morning and landed at the Market Street wharf. . . . I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no soul nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest. I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling in copper.

Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and inquiring where he got it I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to, in Second Street, and asked for biscuit, intending such as we had in Boston; but they it seems were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness, nor the names of his bread, I bade him give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market Street as far as Fourth Street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door,

saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut Street and part of Walnut Street, eating my roll all the way, and coming round, found myself again at Market Street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and after looking round a while and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was therefore the first house I was in or slept in in Philadelphia.

FRANKLIN RENOUNCES VEGETARIANISM

I believe I have omitted mentioning that, in my first voyage from Boston, being becalmed off Block Island, our people set about catching cod, and hauled up a great many. Hitherto I had stuck to my resolution of not eating animal food, and on this occasion I considered, with my master Tryon, the taking every fish as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had, or ever could do us any injury that might justify the slaughter. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had formerly been a great lover of fish, and, when this came hot out of the frying-pan, it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till I recollected that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, "if you eat one another, I don't see why we mayn't eat you." So I dined upon cod very heartily, and continued to eat with other people, returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a *reasonable creature*, since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to do.

FRANKLIN AS A PRINTER IN LONDON AND HIS GOOD EXAMPLE TO HIS FELLOW-WORKMEN

At my first admission into this printing-house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where press-work is mixed with composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in numbes, were great guzzlers of beer. On occasion, I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the *Water-American*, as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves, who drank *strong* beer.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing-room, I left the pressmen; a new *bien venu* or sum for drink, being five shillings, was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid below; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private

mischief done me, by mixing my sorts, transposing my pages, breaking my matter, etc., etc., if I were ever so little out of the room, and all ascribed to the chapel ghost, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted, that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money, convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually.

I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquired considerable influence. I proposed some reasonable alterations in their chapel laws, and carried them against all opposition. From my example, a great part of them left their muddling breakfast of beer and bread and cheese, finding they could, with me, be supplied from a neighboring house with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumbed with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer, viz., three half-pence. This was a more comfortable as well as cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those who continued sotting with beer all day were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and used to make interest with me to get beer; their *light*, as they phrased it, *being out*. I watched the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engaged for them, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This, and my being esteemed a pretty good *riggite*, that is, a jocular, verbal satirist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance (I never making a St. Monday) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon all work of dispatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably.

FRANKLIN BEGINS TO PROSPER

I now opened a little stationer's shop [in Philadelphia]. I had in it blanks of all sorts, the correctest that ever appeared among us, being assisted in that by my friend Breintnal. I had also paper parchment, chapmen's books, etc.

I began now gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary. I dressed plainly, I was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book, indeed, sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, snug, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores through the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others purposed supplying me with books, and I went on swimmingly.

FRANKLIN MARRIES DEBORAH READ

But this affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I looked around me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found that, the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such a one as I should not otherwise think agreeable. . . . A friendly correspondence as neighbors and old acquaintances had continued between me and Mrs. Read's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first

lodging in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of service. I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company. I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when in London as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness, though the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marriage before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union. . . . We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife September 1, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened that we apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop: we throve together, and have ever mutually endeavored to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could.

FRANKLIN STARTS A PUBLIC LIBRARY IN PHILADELPHIA

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the terms our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred; this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesman and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

A FRUGAL AND INDUSTRIOUS LIFE

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day, and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing-house; I had a young family coming on to be educated, and I had to contend with for business two printers, who were established in the place before me. My circumstances, however, grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, "Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men," I from thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encouraged me, though I did not think that I should ever literally *stand before kings*, which, however, has since happened; for I have stood before *five*, and even had the honor of sitting down with one, the King of Denmark, to dinner.

THE HELPFULNESS OF HIS WIFE

We have an English proverb that says, "*He that would thrive, must ask his wife.*" It was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper makers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was a long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress, in spite of principle: being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a china bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three-and-twenty shillings, for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and china in our house, which afterward, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.

FRANKLIN STRIVES TO BE ORDERLY

My scheme of ORDER gave me the most trouble; and I found that, though it might be practicable where a man's business was such as to leave him the disposition of his time, that of a journeyman printer, for instance, it was not possible to be exactly observed by a master, who must mix with the world, and often receive people of business at their own hours. *Order*, too, with regard to places for things, papers, etc., I found extremely difficult to acquire. I had not been early accustomed to it, and, having an exceeding good memory, I was not so sensible of the inconvenience attending want of method. This article, therefore, cost me so much painful attention, and my faults in it vexed me so much, and I made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and content myself with a faulty character in that respect. . . . In truth I found myself incorrigible with respect to Order; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But, on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavor, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing by imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavor, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

THE POOR RICHARD ALMANACS

In 1732 I first published my Almanack, under the name of *Richard Saunders;* it was continued by me about twenty-five years, commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanac.* I endeavored to make it both entertaining and useful; and it accordingly came to be in such demand that I reaped considerable profit from it, vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any

neighborhood in the province being without it, I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books; I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurred between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of those proverbs, *it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*

These proverbs, which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the Almanack of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing all these scattered counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater impression.

FRANKLIN FORMS A FIRE COMPANY

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in Junto, but it was afterward published) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was much spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement, obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leather buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed to meet once a month and spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and this went on, one new company being formed after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now, at the time of my writing this, though upward of fifty years since its establishment, that which I first formed, called the Union Fire Company, still subsists and flourishes, though the first members are all deceased but myself and one, who is older by a year than I am.

THE EFFECT OF GEORGE WHITEFIELD'S ELOQUENCE

I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all.

FRANKLIN'S FIREPLACE

In order of time, I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms,[1] and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, "*An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvania Fireplaces; wherein their Construction and Manner of Operation is particularly explained; their Advantages above every other Method of warming Rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the use of them answered and obviated,*" etc. This pamphlet had a good effect. Governor Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove, as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz., *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An ironmonger in London, however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out for my inventions by others, though not always with the same success, which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fireplaces in very many houses, both of this and the neighboring colonies, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants.

FRANKLIN'S EFFORTS TO CLEAN THE STREETS OF PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON

Our city, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages ploughed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. I had lived near what was called the Jersey Market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length paved with brick, so that, being once in the market, they had firm footing, but were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject, I was at length instrumental in getting the street paved with stone between the market and the bricked foot pavement that was on each side next the houses. This, for some time, gave an easy access to the market dry-shod; but the rest of the street not being paved, whenever a carriage came out of the mud upon this pavement, it shook off and left its dirt upon it, and it was soon covered with mire, which was not removed, the city as yet having no scavengers.

[1] Still commonly known as the Franklin open fireplace. The chimneys in Franklin's time were so built as to waste fuel and consume heat.

After some inquiry, I found a poor, industrious man, who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean, by sweeping it twice a week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbors' doors, for the sum of sixpence per month, to be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper setting forth the advantages to the neighborhood that might be obtained by this small expense; the greater ease in keeping our houses clean, so much dirt not being brought in by people's feet; the benefit to the shops by more custom, etc., etc., as buyers could more easily get at them; and by not having, in windy weather, the dust blown in upon their goods, etc., etc. I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went round to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these sixpences; it was unanimously signed, and for a time well executed. All the inhabitants of the city were delighted with the cleanliness of the pavement that surrounded the market, it being a convenience to all, and this raised a general desire to have all the streets paved, and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose. . . .

An accidental occurrence had instructed me how much sweeping might be done in a little time. I found at my door in Craven Street [London], one morning, a poor woman sweeping my pavement with a birch broom; she appeared very pale and feeble, as just come out of a fit of sickness. I asked who employed her to sweep there; she said, "Nobody; but I am very poor and in distress, and I sweeps before gentlefolkses doors, and hopes they will give me something." I bid her sweep the whole street clean, and I would give her a shilling; this was at nine o'clock; at twelve she came for the shilling. From the slowness I saw at first in her working I could scarce believe that the work was done so soon, and sent my servant to examine it, who reported that the whole street was swept perfectly clean, and all the dust placed in the gutter, which was in the middle; and the next rain washed it quite away, so that the pavement and even the kennel were perfectly clean.

I then judged that, if that feeble woman could sweep such a street in three hours, a strong, active man might have done it in half the time.

THE JOY OF WORK

This gave me occasion to observe, that when men are employed they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with their pork, the bread, etc., and in continual ill-humor, which put me in mind of a sea captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and when his mate once told him that they had done everything, and that there was nothing further to employ them about, "*Oh,*" says he, "*make them scour the anchor.*"

FRANKLIN SENDS SOME PRESENTS FROM LONDON TO HIS WIFE AND FAMILY

"I send you by Captain Budden a large case and a small box. In the large case is another small box, containing some English china, viz., melons and leaves for a dessert of fruit and cream, or the like; a bowl remarkable for the neatness of the figures, made at Bow, near this city; some coffee-cups of the same; a Worcester

bowl, ordinary. To show the difference of workmanship, there is something from all the china works in England; and one old true china basin mended, of an odd color. The same box contains four silver salt-ladles, newest but ugliest fashion; a little instrument to core apples; another to make little turnips out of great ones; six coarse diaper breakfast-cloths; they are to spread on the tea-table, for nobody breakfasts here on the naked table, but on the cloth they set a large tea-board with the cups. . . . In the great case, besides the little box, is contained some carpeting for a best-room floor. There is enough for one large or two small ones; it is to be sewed together, the edges being first felled down, and care taken to make the figure, meet exactly; there is bordering for the same. This was my fancy. Also two large fine Flanders bed-ticks, and two pair of large superfine blankets, two fine damask table-cloths and napkins, and forty-three ells of Ghentish sheeting, Holland. These you ordered. There are also fifty-six yards of cotton printed curiously from copper plates, a new invention, to make bed and window curtains; and seven yards of chair-bottoms, printed in the same way, very neat. These were my fancy; but Mrs. Stevenson tells me I did wrong not to buy both of the same color. Also seven yards of printed cotton, blue ground, to make you a gown. I bought it by candle-lights and liked it then, but not so well afterwards. If you do not fancy it, send it as a present from me to sister Jenny. There is a better gown for you of flowered tissue, sixteen yards, of Mrs. Stevenson's fancy, cost nine guineas; and I think it a great beauty. There was no more of the sort, or you should have had enough for a negligee or suit.

"There are also snuffers, a snuff-stand, and extinguisher, of steel, which I send for the beauty of the work. The extinguisher is for spermaceti candles only, and is of a new contrivance to preserve the snuff upon the candle. There is some music Billy bought for his sister, and some pamphlets for the Speaker and for Susy Wright. A mahogany and a little shagreen box, with microscopes, and other optical instruments loose, are for Mr. Alison, if he likes them; if not, put them in my room till I return. I send the invoice of them, and I wrote to him formerly the reason of my exceeding his orders. There are also two sets of books, a present from me to Sally, — *The World*, and *The Connoisseur*. My love to her.

"I forgot to mention another of my fancyings, viz., a pair of silk blankets very fine. They are of a new kind, were just taken in a French prize, and such were never seen in England before. They are called blankets, but I think they will be very neat to cover a summer bed, instead of a quilt or counterpane. I had no choice, so you will excuse the soil on some of the folds; your neighbor Foster can get it off. I also forgot, among the china, to mention a large, fine jug for beer, to stand in the cooler. I fell in love with it at first sight; for I thought it looked like a fat, jolly dame, clean and tidy, with a neat blue and white calico gown on, good-natured and lovely, and put me in mind of — somebody. It has the coffee-cups in it, packed in best crystal salt, of a peculiar nice flavor, for the table, not to be powdered."

THE HONORABLE CONDUCT OF HIS NEWSPAPER

In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libelling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert anything of that kind, and the writers pleaded, as they generally did, the liberty of the press, and that a newspaper was like a stage-coach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place, my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself, but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that, having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers with private altercation, in which they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they may be encouraged not to pollute their presses and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse steadily, as they may see by my example that such a course of conduct will not, on the whole, be injurious to their interests.

[All the preceding extracts are made from the text of Franklin's "Autobiography" published in the *Riverside Literature Series*, numbers 19, 20. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

FRANKLIN'S DISCOVERY OF THE ORIGIN OF NORTHEAST STORMS

[Written in 1747.]

We have frequently, along this North American coast, storms from the northeast, which blow violently sometimes three or four days. Of these I have had a very singular opinion some years, viz., that, though the course of the wind is from northeast to southwest, yet the course of the storm is from southwest to northeast; that is, the air is in violent motion in Virginia before it moves in Connecticut, and in Connecticut before it moves at Cape Sable, etc.

[Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin. Edited by John Bigelow, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Vol. 2, p. 76.

SUCCESS IN LIFE

[Written in 1748.]

Franklin's "Advice to a Young Tradesman": Remember that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle one-half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember that credit is money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

bowl, ordinary. To show the difference of workmanship, there is something from all the china works in England; and one old true china basin mended, of an odd color. The same box contains four silver salt-ladles, newest but ugliest fashion; a little instrument to core apples; another to make little turnips out of great ones; six coarse diaper breakfast-cloths; they are to spread on the tea-table, for nobody breakfasts here on the naked table, but on the cloth they set a large tea-board with the cups. . . . In the great case, besides the little box, is contained some carpeting for a best-room floor. There is enough for one large or two small ones; it is to be sewed together, the edges being first felled down, and care taken to make the figure, meet exactly; there is bordering for the same. This was my fancy. Also two large fine Flanders bed-ticks, and two pair of large superfine blankets, two fine damask table-cloths and napkins, and forty-three ells of Ghentish sheeting, Holland. These you ordered. There are also fifty-six yards of cotton printed curiously from copper plates, a new invention, to make bed and window curtains; and seven yards of chair-bottoms, printed in the same way, very neat. These were my fancy; but Mrs. Stevenson tells me I did wrong not to buy both of the same color. Also seven yards of printed cotton, blue ground, to make you a gown. I bought it by candle-lights and liked it then, but not so well afterwards. If you do not fancy it, send it as a present from me to sister Jenny. There is a better gown for you of flowered tissue, sixteen yards, of Mrs. Stevenson's fancy, cost nine guineas; and I think it a great beauty. There was no more of the sort, or you should have had enough for a negligee or suit.

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FRANKLIN GETS AN ELECTRIC SHOCK

[Written in 1750.]

I have lately made an experiment in electricity that I desire never to repeat. Two nights ago, being about to kill a turkey by the shock from two large glass jars, containing as much electrical fire as forty common phials, I inadvertently took the whole through my own arms and body, by receiving the fire from the united top wires with one hand, while the other held a chain connected with the outsides of both jars. The company present (whose talking to me and to one another, I suppose, occasioned my inattention to what I was about) say that the flash was very great, and the crack as loud as a pistol; yet, my senses being instantly gone, I neither saw the one nor heard the other; nor did I feel the stroke on my hand, though I afterward found it raised a round swelling where the fire entered as big as half a pistol bullet, by which you may judge of the quickness of the electrical fire, which by this instance seems to be greater than that of sound, light, or animal sensation.

What I can remember of the matter is that I was about to try whether the bottles or jars were fully charged by the strength and length of the stream issuing to my hand, as I commonly used to do, and which I might safely enough have done if I had not held the chain in the other hand. I then felt what I know not how well to describe — a universal blow throughout my whole body from head to foot, which seemed within as well as without; after which the first thing I took notice of was a violent, quick shaking of my body, which, gradually remitting, my sense as gradually returned, and I then thought the bottles must be discharged, but could not conceive how, till at last I perceived the chain in my hand, and recollected what I had been about to do. That part of my hand and fingers which held the chain was left white, as though the blood had been driven out, and remained so eight or ten minutes after, feeling like dead flesh; and I had a numbness in my arms and the back of my neck, which continued till the next morning, but wore off. Nothing remains now of this shock but a soreness in my breast bone, which feels as if it had been bruised. I did not fall, but suppose I should have been knocked down if I had received the stroke in my head. The whole was over in less than a minute.

[Complete Works, Vol. 2, p. 209.

FRANKLIN AMUSES HIMSELF AT THE EXPENSE OF NEWSWRITERS, AND TELLS OF SOME AMERICAN MARVELS

[Written in 1765.]

And here, quitting Mr. Spectator of Pimlico, give me leave to instance the various accounts the newswriters have given us, with so much honest zeal for the welfare of *Poor Old England*, of the establishing manufactures in the colonies to the prejudice of those of the kingdom. It is objected by superficial readers, who yet pretend to some knowledge of those countries, that such establishments are not only improbable but impossible, for that their sheep have but little wool, not in the whole sufficient for a pair of stockings a year to each inhabitant; that, from the universal dearness of labor among them, the working of iron and other materials, except in a few coarse instances, is impracticable to any advantage.

Dear Sir, do not let us suffer ourselves to be amused with such groundless objections. The very tails of the American sheep are so laden with wool, that each has a little car or wagon on four little wheels to support and keep it from trailing on the ground. . . .

And yet all this is as certainly true as the account, said to be from Quebec, in all the papers of last week, that the inhabitants of Canada are making preparations for a cod and whale fishery this "summer in the upper Lakes." Ignorant people may object that the upper Lakes are fresh, and that cod and whales are salt water fish, but let them know, Sir, that cod, like other fish, when attacked by their enemies, fly into any water where they can be safest; that whales, when they have a mind to eat cod, pursue them wherever they fly, and that the grand leap of the whale in the chase up the falls of Niagara is esteemed by all who have seen it as one of the finest spectacles in nature. Really, Sir, the world is grown too incredulous. It is like the pendulum, ever swinging from one extreme to another. Formerly everything printed was believed because it was in print. Now things seem to be disbelieved for just the very same reason.

[Complete Works, Vol. 3, p. 377.

THE CLOSING WORDS OF THE EXAMINATION OF DR. FRANKLIN IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, RELATING TO THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT IN 1766

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the right of Parliament to tax them and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation and convenience; every assembly encouraged it and supported it in its infancy by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

Q. When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England about fifteen months since.

Q. When did you communicate that instruction to the minister?

A. Soon after my arrival, while the stamping of America was under consideration, and before the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be sure.

Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

[Complete Works, Vol. 3, p. 449.

FRANKLIN'S PRIDE IN CLOTHES OF HIS WIFE'S OWN MANUFACTURE

[Written in 1766.]

My Dear Child [his wife]: — As the Stamp Act is at length repealed, I am willing you should have a new gown, which you may suppose I did not send sooner, as I knew you would not like to be finer than your neighbors, unless in a gown of your own spinning. Had the trade between the two countries totally ceased, it was a comfort to me to recollect, that I had once been clothed from head to foot in woollen and linen of my wife's manufacture, that I never was prouder of any dress in my life, and that she and her daughter might do it again if it was necessary. I told the Parliament that it was my opinion, before the old clothes of the Americans were worn out, they might have new ones of their own making. I have sent you a fine piece of Pompadour satin, fourteen yards, cost eleven shillings a yard; a silk negligee and petticoat of brocaded lutestring for my dear Sally, with two dozen gloves, four bottles of lavender water and two little reels.

[Complete Works, Vol. 3, p. 457.

BATHING IN FRESH AIR

[Written in 1768.]

You know the cold bath has long been in vogue here as a tonic; but the shock of the cold water has always appeared to me, generally speaking, as too violent, and I have found it much more agreeable to my constitution to bathe in another element, I mean cold air. With this view I rise almost every morning and sit in my chamber without any clothes whatever, half an hour or an hour, according to the season, either reading or writing. This practice is not in the least painful, but, on the contrary, agreeable; and if I return to bed afterwards, before I dress myself, as sometimes happens, I make a supplement to my night's rest of one or two hours of the most pleasing sleep that can be imagined. I find no ill consequences whatever resulting from it, and that, at least, it does not injure my health, if it does not in fact contribute much to its preservation. I shall therefore call it for the future a *bracing* or *tonic* bath.

[Complete Works, Vol. 4, p. 193.

AGRICULTURE, THE TRUE SOURCE OF NATIONAL WEALTH

[Written in 1769.]

Finally, there seems to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The first is by war, as the Romans did, in plundering their conquered neighbors. This is robbery. The second by commerce, which is generally cheating. The third by agriculture, the only honest way, wherein a man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle, wrought by the hand of God in his favor, as a reward for his innocent life and his virtuous industry.

[Complete Works, Vol. 4, p. 238.

FRANKLIN MOURNS THE DEATH OF A SQUIRREL AND WRITES ITS EPITAPH

[Written in 1772.]

To Miss Georgiana Shipley, on the loss of her American Squirrel, who, escaping from his cage, was killed by a shepherd's dog.

London, 26 September, 1772.

Dear Miss: — I lament with you most sincerely the unfortunate end of poor Mungo. Few squirrels were better accomplished, for he had a good education, had travelled far, and seen much of the world. As he had the honor of being, for his virtues, your favorite, he should not go, like common skuggs, without an elegy or an epitaph. Let us give him one in the monumental style and measure, which, being neither prose nor verse, is, perhaps, the properest for grief; since to use common language would look as if we were not affected, and to make rhymes would seem trifling in sorrow.

EPITAPH

Alas! poor MUNGO!
Happy wert thou hadst thou known
Thy own felicity.
Remote from the fierce bald eagle,
Tyrant of thy native woods,
Thou hadst nought to fear from his piercing talons,
Nor from the murdering gun
Of the thoughtless sportsman.
Safe in thy wired castle,
GRIMALKIN never could annoy thee.
Daily wert thou fed with the choicest viands,
By the fair hand of an indulgent mistress;
But, discontented,
Thou wouldst have more freedom.
Too soon, alas! didst thou obtain it;
And wandering,
Thou art fallen by the fangs of wanton, cruel RANGER!

Learn hence,
Ye who blindly seek more liberty,
Whether subjects, sons, squirrels or daughters,
That apparent restraint may be real protection,
Yielding peace and plenty
With security.

You see, my dear Miss, how much more decent and proper this broken style is than if we were to say, by way of epitaph:

Here SKUGG
Lies snug
As a bug
In a rug.

And yet perhaps there are people in the world of so little feeling as to think this would be a good enough epitaph for poor Mungo.

If you wish it, I shall procure another to succeed him; but perhaps you will now choose some other amusement.

Remember me affectionately to all the good family, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

[Complete Works, Vol. 4, p. 524.

THE VIRTUE OF FRESH AIR

[Written in 1773.]

Thus, though it is generally allowed that taking the air is a good thing, yet what caution against air! What stopping of crevices! What wrapping up in warm clothes! What stuffing of doors and windows, even in the midst of summer! Many London families go out once a day to take the air, three or four persons in a coach, one perhaps sick; these go three or four miles, or as many turns in Hyde Park, with the glasses both up close, all breathing over and over again the same air they brought out of town with them in the coach, with the least change possible, and rendered worse and worse every moment. And this they call *taking the air*. From many years' observations on myself and others, I am persuaded we are on a wrong scent in supposing moist or cold air the causes of that disorder we call a cold. Some unknown quality in the air may perhaps produce colds, as in the influenza but generally, I apprehend that they are the effect of too full living in proportion to our exercise.

[Complete Works, Vol. 5, p. 237.

A PARABLE ON PERSECUTION

[A favorite parable with Franklin, who used to present copies of it to his friends. Its origin has been traced to the "Bostân" by the Persian poet Saadi.]

1. And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun.

2. And behold a man, bowed with age, came from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff.

3. And Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him: "Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early on the morrow, and go on thy way."

4. But the man said: "Nay, for I will abide under this tree."

5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned and they went into the tent, and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him: "Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of Heaven and earth?"

7. And the man answered and said: "I do not worship the God thou speakest of, neither do I call upon His name; for I have made to myself a God, which abideth alway in mine house, and provideth me with all things."

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9. And at midnight God called unto Abraham, saying: "Abraham, where is the stranger?"

10. And Abraham answered and said: "Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out before my face into the wilderness."

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To Miss Georgiana Shipley, on the loss of her American Squirrel, who, escaping from his cage, was killed by a shepherd's dog.

London, 26 September, 1772.

Dear Miss: — I lament with you most sincerely the unfortunate end of poor Mungo. Few squirrels were better accomplished, for he had a good education, had travelled far, and seen much of the world. As he had the honor of being, for his virtues, your favorite, he should not go, like common skuggs, without an elegy or an epitaph. Let us give him one in the monumental style and measure, which, being neither prose nor verse, is, perhaps, the properest for grief; since to use common language would look as if we were not affected, and to make rhymes would seem trifling in sorrow.

EPITAPH

Alas! poor MUNGO!
Happy wert thou hadst thou known
Thy own felicity.
Remote from the fierce bald eagle,
Tyrant of thy native woods,
Thou hadst nought to fear from his piercing talons,
Nor from the murdering gun
Of the thoughtless sportsman.
Safe in thy wired castle,
GRIMALKIN never could annoy thee.
Daily wert thou fed with the choicest viands,
By the fair hand of an indulgent mistress;
But, discontented,
Thou wouldst have more freedom.
Too soon, alas! didst thou obtain it;
And wandering,
Thou art fallen by the fangs of wanton, cruel RANGER!

Learn hence,
Ye who blindly seek more liberty,
Whether subjects, sons, squirrels or daughters,
That apparent restraint may be real protection,
Yielding peace and plenty
With security.

You see, my dear Miss, how much more decent and proper this broken style is than if we were to say, by way of epitaph:

Here SKUGG
Lies snug
As a bug
In a rug.

And yet perhaps there are people in the world of so little feeling as to think this would be a good enough epitaph for poor Mungo.

If you wish it, I shall procure another to succeed him; but perhaps you will now choose some other amusement.

Remember me affectionately to all the good family, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

[Complete Works, Vol. 4, p. 524.

When I saw one too ambitious of court favor, sacrificing his time in attendance on levees, his repose, his liberty, his virtue, and perhaps his friends, to attain it, I have said to myself, This man gives too much for his whistle.

When I saw another fond of popularity, constantly employing himself in political bustles, neglecting his own affairs, and ruining them by that neglect, He pays, indeed, said I, too much for his whistle.

If I knew a miser, who gave up every kind of comfortable living, all the pleasure of doing good to others, all the esteem of his fellow citizens and the joys of benevolent friendship, for the sake of accumulating wealth, poor man, said I, you pay too much for your whistle.

When I met with a man of pleasure, sacrificing every laudable improvement of the mind, or of his fortune, to mere corporeal sensations, and ruining his health in their pursuit, mistaken man, said I, you are providing pain for yourself, instead of pleasure; you give too much for your whistle.

If I see one fond of appearance, or fine clothes, fine houses, fine furniture, fine equipages, all above his fortune, for which he contracts debts, and ends his career in a prison, Alas! say I, he has paid dear, very dear, for his whistle.

When I see a beautiful, sweet-tempered girl, married to an ill-natured brute of a husband, what a pity, say I, that she should pay so much for a whistle.

In short, I conceive that a great part of the miseries of mankind are brought upon them by the false estimates they have made of the values of things and by their giving too much for their whistles.

[Complete Works, Vol. 6, p. 240.

WARS ARE MISFORTUNES

[Written in 1780.]

We make daily great improvements in natural — there is one I wish to see in moral — philosophy: the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this? When will men be convinced that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences? Your great comfort and mine in this war is, that we honestly and faithfully did everything in our power to prevent it.

[Complete Works, Vol. 7, p. 7.

AT SEVENTY-FIVE FRANKLIN DECIDES TO GROW YOUNGER, NOT OLDER

[Written in 1780.]

For my own part, I do not find that I grow any older. Being arrived at seventy, and considering that by travelling farther in the same road I should probably be led to the grave, I stopped short, turned about, and walked back again; which, having done these four years, you may now call me sixty-six. Advise those old friends of ours to follow my example; keep up your spirits, and that will keep up your bodies; you will no more stoop under the weight of age than if you had swallowed a handspike.

[Complete Works, Vol. 7, p. 36.

FRANKLIN PREFERS THE TURKEY TO THE EAGLE AS OUR NATIONAL BIRD

[Written in 1784.]

Others object to the bald eagle as looking too much like a dindon or turkey. For my own part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk; and, when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him and takes it from him. With all the injustice he is never in good case; but, like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward; the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all the *king-birds* from our country; though exactly fit for that order of knights which the French call Chevaliers d'Industrie.

I am, on this account, not displeased that the figure is not known as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For, in truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America. Eagles have been found in all countries, but the turkey was peculiar to ours; the first of the species seen in Europe being brought to France by the Jesuits from Canada, and served up at the wedding table of Charles the Ninth. He is, besides (though a little vain and silly, it is true, but not the worse emblem for that), a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British Guards who should presume to invade his farm-yard with a *red* coat on. [Complete Works, Vol. 8, p. 444.

A NEW WAY OF REPAYING BORROWED MONEY

[Written in 1784.]

I send you herewith a bill for ten louis d'ors. I do not pretend to give such a sum; I only lend it to you. When you shall return to your country with a good character, you cannot fail of getting into some business that will in time enable you to pay all your debts. In that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must pay me by lending this sum to him; enjoining him to discharge the debt by a like operation, when he shall be able, and shall meet with such another opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands before it meets with a knave that will stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a deal of good with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford much in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning and make the most of a little. [Complete Works, Vol. 8, p. 471.

COTTON MATHER'S ADVICE TO YOUNG FRANKLIN ON CARRYING HIS HEAD TOO HIGH

[Written to Samuel Mather in 1784.]

You mention your being in your seventy-eighth year; I am in my seventy-ninth; we are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left

Boston, but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library, and on my taking leave showed me a shorter way out of the house, through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam overhead. We were all talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, "Stoop, stoop." I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man that never missed any occasion of giving instruction, and upon this he said to me: "You are young, and have the world before you; stoop as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps." This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me, and I often think of it when I see pride mortified and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

[Complete Works, Vol. 8, p. 484.

FRANKLIN AT EIGHTY

[Written in 1786.]

You will kindly expect a word or two concerning myself. My health and spirits continue, thanks to God, as when you saw me. The only complaint I then had does not grow worse, and is tolerable. I still have enjoyment in the company of my friends, and, being easy in my circumstances, have many reasons to like living. But the course of nature must soon put a period to my present mode of existence. This I shall submit to with the less regret, as, having seen during a long life a good deal of this world, I feel a growing curiosity to be acquainted with some other; and can cheerfully, with filial confidence, resign my spirit to the conduct of that great and good Parent of mankind who created it, and who has so graciously protected and prospered me from my birth to the present hour.

[Complete Works, Vol. 9, p. 296.

FRANKLIN'S MOTION FOR PRAYERS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

Mr. President, — The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks close attendance, and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. . . . In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the Divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, — and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that

powerful friend? or do we imagine we no longer need its assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? . . . I therefore beg leave to move —

That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings upon our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

[Complete Works, Vol. 9, p. 428.

FRIENDLY MEMORIES OF BOSTON

[Written in 1788.]

It would certainly, as you observe, be a very great pleasure to me, if I could once again visit my native town, and walk over the grounds I used to frequent when a boy, and where I enjoyed many of the innocent pleasures of youth, which would be so brought to my remembrance, and where I might find some of my old acquaintance to converse with. But when I consider how well I am situated here, with everything about me that I can call either necessary or convenient; the fatigues and bad accommodations to be met with and suffered in a land journey, and the unpleasantness of sea voyages to one who, although he has crossed the Atlantic eight times, and made many smaller trips, does not recollect his having ever been at sea without taking a firm resolution never to go to sea again; and that, if I were arrived in Boston, I should see but little of it, as I could neither bear walking nor riding in a carriage over its pebbled streets; and, above all, that I should find very few indeed of my old friends living, it being now sixty-five years since I left it to settle here; all this considered, I say, it seems probable, though not certain, that I shall hardly again visit that beloved place. But I enjoy the company and conversation of its inhabitants, when any of them are so good as to visit me; for, besides their general good sense, which I value, the Boston manner, turn of phrase, and even tone of voice, and accent in pronunciation, all please, and seem to refresh and revive me.

[Complete Works, Vol. 9, p. 479.

GEORGE WASHINGTON ON THE CHARACTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

New York, 23 September, 1789.

Dear Sir, — The affectionate congratulations on the recovery of my health, and the warm expressions of personal friendship, which were contained in your letter of the 16th instant, claim my gratitude. And the consideration that it was written when you were afflicted with a painful malady greatly increases my obligation for it.

Would to God, my dear sir, that I could congratulate you upon the removal of that excruciating pain under which you labor, and that your existence might close with as much ease to yourself as its continuance has been beneficial to our country and useful to mankind; or, if the united wishes of a free people, joined with the earnest prayers of every friend to science and humanity, could relieve the body from pain or infirmities, that you could claim an exemption on this score. But this can-